THE GROWTH OF THE SŌTŌ ZEN TRADITION IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN

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ABSTRACT

THE GROWTH OF THE SŌTŌ ZEN TRADITION IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN

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This dissertation examines the early religious history of the Japanese Sōtō Zen school during the medieval period when the Sōtō school acquired both its wide-spread networks of rural monasteries and many of the religious tendencies that still characterize it today.

During this formative medieval period, the Sōtō school rapidly expanded from a single, small, exclusive monastic community to several extended networks of temples spread throughout the rural areas of nearly every Japanese province. To these areas Sōtō monks brought a level of religious expertise that formerly had been unavailable. They introduced new rituals for worldly benefit and for personal salvation that have little connection with the teachings of Dōgen (1200-1253), the founder of Japanese Sōtō, or with Zen as it has been described previously by Westerners.

This dissertation, based on original sources and on reexaminations of interpretations advanced by previous scholars, comprises two main sections: (a) a history of the growth of the

medieval Sōtō school, followed by (b) an analysis of several significant medieval Sōtō practices. The first section describes patterns of regional growth and popularization, the activities of Keizan Jōkin (1264-1325), the development of temple networks, and the roles of Eiheiji and Sōjiji monasteries. The second section analyzes the development of new techniques for instruction in Zen *kōan*, the popularization of ordinations for laymen, and the soteriological roles of Zen funerals. These practices still remain important issues in modern Japanese Sōtō Zen.

In explicating these topics, this dissertation not only introduces previously unexplored areas of Japanese religious life, but also reveals the patterns of development by which the medieval Sōtō school integrated monastic Zen training with Japanese traditions to function as a religion for laymen who themselves had not practiced Zen.

PREFACE

The Sōtō school in medieval Japan developed uniquely Japanese patterns of Zen training and religious life. Chinese monastic forms adapted to Japanese traditions fostered new forms of organization, new methods of Zen instruction, and new applications for Zen rituals within lay life. In explicating these developments, this dissertation attempts to illuminate how Sōtō Zen functioned as a religion within the context of medieval Japanese society.

The Sōtō school is the largest Buddhist organization in modern Japan. It ranks with the various Pure Land schools as one of the most successful of the new Buddhist denominations that emerged during the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. In spite of the obvious importance of the medieval Sōtō school, it has never been the subject of any full-length study in a western language. Most western descriptions of Sōtō Zen have been centered exclusively on the teachings of Dōgen (the school's founder), even though medieval-period Sōtō practices included many elements unknown to Dōgen or even foreign to his teachings. In Japan as well no comprehensive study of medieval Sōtō religious practices has appeared. Yet this dissertation builds upon the work of many earlier scholars.

The critical study of the history of Japanese Zen Buddhism is less than one hundred years old. Although certain prewar scholars, such as Kuriyama Taion (1860-1937) and Washio Junkyō (1868-1939), still can

be read with profit (if one is cautious), the contours of the historical landscape were mapped first by the generation of scholars that emerged during and just following the second World War. At that time, the work of a few exceptional scholars--Ōkubo Dōshū, Suzuki Taizan, Tamamura Takeji, and Tsuji Zennosuke--formulated the interpretations that would become the accepted standards for the post-war era. Even today no one should study Japanese Zen history without consulting their works. For understanding the development of medieval Japanese Zen, however, many of their interpretations are no longer adequate. The many new sources now available raise issues and reveal events unknown to these men. New information often challenges their previously accepted analyses.

The range of new sources is breathtaking. In the area of Sōtō sectarian studies, Ōkubo Dōshū himself compiled and transcribed the first reliable edition of Dōgen's collected writings (*Dōgen Zenji zenshū;* 2 vols., 1969-1970), as well as more than two thousand documents collected from Sōtō monasteries throughout Japan (*Sōtōshū komonjo;* 3 vols., 1972). During 1974-1976, the Sōtō school published a ten-volume supplement to its earlier (20 vols., 1929-1935) edition of "The Complete Works of The Sōtō School" (*Zoku Sōtōshū zensho*). During the same period, manuscript versions of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* and related commentaries as well as the writings of early Sōtō patriarchs became available for the first time in their original form (*Eihei shōbō genzō shūsho taisei;* 25 vols., 1974-1982). Moreover, early manuscript copies of many individual texts (such as the *Denkōroku*, the *Tōkokuki*, and the *Kenzeiki*) also were discovered and published.

These new manuscript editions are particularly significant because they reveal the inadequacies of the sources previously used by

scholars. We now know that many of the Japanese Sōtō Zen texts first published during the Tokugawa period (and subsequently reprinted in the modern editions of Buddhist scripture) had been extensively edited. The order of textual entries might have been rearranged to fit what Tokugawa-period Sōtō historians regarded as the correct sequence of events (e.g., the *Tōkokuki* and *Kenzeiki*). In many cases original citations of Chinese materials were "corrected" to agree with the Ming edition of the Buddhist canon (e.g., the *"Shinji" Shōbō genzō*). Japanese passages were rewritten in Chinese form (e.g., the *Denkōroku*). When these standard editions later were used for the critical study of Sōtō history, distortions could not be avoided. Discrepancies between different texts attributed to the same time period or to the same author forced mistaken judgments of textual authenticity. Without access to the original manuscripts, previous scholars had little choice but to follow inaccurate chronologies. Today with the recent availability of more accurate sources, suddenly a whole new historical landscape beckons.

More important, the questions being asked of these historical sources also have changed. In recent years a new generation of scholars has been examining Japanese Zen history and practices with increased vigor. Sophisticated and systematic analyses of the role of Zen in the religious, social, and political lives of average monks and lay people have replaced the simple recounting of the biographies of eminent monks. The *goroku* (lectures recorded in Chinese) of famous Zen teachers no longer monopolize descriptions of Zen practices. Many types of texts previously ignored, such as secret initiation documents (*kirikami*), have been collated for the first time. Even as scholars are publishing the

results of their work, new sources have continued to be uncovered. New interpretations have been advanced. This dissertation attempts to contribute to this same avenue of research. It relies extensively on new original sources and reexamines the premises and assumptions employed by previous Zen historians. No one is more aware than the author of the questions that remain. Yet I hope these will stimulate others to attempt a more complete integration and more highly developed synthesis of the themes discussed herein.

The extensive footnotes and bibliography of secondary sources indicate only some of the extent of my indebtedness to the accomplishments of other scholars. In addition to these published works, I must acknowledge the personal assistance, guidance, and criticisms of many individual teachers, colleagues, and friends without whom this work could never have been accomplished. I am pleased to have this opportunity to express personal thanks and special gratitude to Ishikawa Rikizan, Kagamishima Genryū, and to my adviser, Stanley Weinstein. This dissertation would never have been undertaken without Professor Weinstein. He not only had initiated me into the arcane methodology of Buddhist studies, but also led me to this topic and helped to arrange for my research in Japan. During my final stages of writing his insightful comments prompted endless improvements, and his example continues to inspire me to strive for higher standards. Professor Kagamishima, who acted as my faculty supervisor at Komazawa University, guided me through the fundamentals of Zen studies. Professor Ishikawa not only supplied me with many otherwise unobtainable documents, but also taught me how to read them. Moreover, as he

introduced me to medieval manuscripts, he challenged me to rethink my own underlying assumptions.

During my research in Japan, I also received personal guidance and encouragement from many scholars who admitted me into their seminars and answered my endless questions. I wish especially to thank Hirose Ryōkō, Nakao Ryōshin, Sakai Tokugen, Shinna Kōyū, and Takeuchi Kōdō. Although the acts of kindness of many additional people must go unmentioned, I cannot fail to record the assistance of Ikeda Rosan, Ishii Shūdō, Kawauchi Shūten, Lin Baoyao, Okuda Shinpei, Nagai Masashi, Nagamune Baihō, Sano Bunnō, and the staff of Eigenji. I owe special thanks to Ishikawa Rikizan, Kaneda Hiroshi, and Komazawa University Library for permission to cite unpublished materials. I also wish to acknowledge the support of the following institutions: The Japan Foundation, The Institute for Sōtō Studies (Shūgaku Kenkyūjo), The Japanese Ministry of Education (Monbushō), The Yale University Council on East Asian Studies, Yale University Libraries, The Kansas City "Heart of America" Branch of the Japan-America Society, and the Zenshūji Sōtō Mission. Word processing with diacritical marks was performed with Nota Bene (c. Dragonfly Software). Research for this dissertation was conducted at Komazawa University, 1985-1986, under the auspices of a fellowship from The Japan Foundation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Editorial Abbreviations

abb.	abbreviated as
a.k.a.	also known as
alt.	for an alternate version of the same text in a more widely available source, also see
b.	born
c.	copyright
ca.	*circa* (about)
cent.	century
chap., chaps.	chapter, chapters
Ch.	Chinese
comp., comps.	compiler, compiled by, compilers
D	document, documents
d.	died
DS	document signed, documents signed
ed., eds.	editor, edited by, editors
edn.	edition
enl.	enlarged
esp.	especially see
et al.	*et alii* (and others)
fasc., fascs.	fascicle, fascicles
fig., figs.	figure, figures
fl.	*floruit* (flourished)

ibid.	*ibidem* (in the same place)
i.e.	*id est* (that is)
int.	intercalated lunar month
Jpn.	Japanese
L	letter, letters
lec., lecs.	lecture, lectures
LS	letter signed, letters signed
mid.	middle
Ms.	manuscript, manuscripts
MsS	manuscript signed, manuscripts signed
n., nn.	note, notes
n.d.	no date
no., nos.	number, numbers
n.s.	new series
p., pp.	page, pages
Pref.	Prefecture
pt., pts.	part, parts
pub.	published
r.	reigned
rev.	revised
rpt.	reprint, reprinted
sec., secs.	section, sections
Skt.	Sanskrit
s.v.	*sub verbo* (under the word)
trans.	translator, translated by, translators
ver., vers.	version, versions
vol., vols.	volume, volumes

Abbreviations Of Frequently Used Sources

Benchū	*Shōbō genzō benchū*, by Tenkei Denson, 20 fascs., in *SBGZST*, 15:1-620.
Daison gyōjōki	*Genso Koun Tettsū san daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:11-19.
DZD	(see Nakaseko, *DZD*)
DZDKK	(see Ōkubo, *DZDKK*)
DZZ	*Dōgen Zenji zenshū*, ed. Ōkubo Dōshū, 1970, 2 vols. of texts.
Gikai sōki	*Eihei daisandai Daijō kaisan dai oshō senge sōji kiki* (a.k.a. *Tettsū Gikai Zenji sōki*), 1309, comp. Keizan Jōkin, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 1-7.
Goshō	*Shōbō genzōshō* (a.k.a. *Shōbō genzō gokikigakishō; Goshō*), 30 fascs., in *SBGZST*, 11-14.
Gosoku ryakuki	*Tōkoku dentōin gorō gosoku narabi ni gyōgō ryakuki*, 1323, by Keizan Jōkin, in *Tōkokuki*, in *JDZ*, 411-16.
Goyuigon	*Eihei kaisan goyuigon kiroku*, by Gikai, in *SBGZST*, 20:819-40; alt. *DZZ*, 2:496-507.
IBK	*Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū*, semiyearly.
JDZ	*Jōsai daishi zenshū*, 1937; rpt. & enl., 1967.
Kaidai	*Sōtōshū zensho kaidai sakuin*, supplementary vol. to *SZ* and *ZSZ*, 1978.
KBK	*Komazawa daigaku Bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō*, annual.
KBRS	*Komazawa daigaku Bukkyō gakubu ronshū*, annual.
Kenzeiki	*Eihei kaisan gogyōjō* (a.k.a. *Kenzeiki*), ca.1459-1474, by Kenzei, 6 variant texts, rpt. in *Shohon Kenzeiki*. Unless noted otherwise, all references are to the 1552 Ms. recopied 1589 by Zuichō.
Komonjo	*Sōtōshū komonjo*, comp. Ōkubo Dōshū, 1972, 3 vols.
Koten bungaku 81	*Shōbō genzō - Shōbō genzō zuimonki*, Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei, 81, 1965.
Kōroku	*Eihei kōroku*, by Dōgen, 10 secs., Monkaku edn., in *DZZ*, 2:7-200.

Nakaseko, *DZD* — Nakaseko Shōdō, *Dōgen Zenjiden kenkyū*, 1979.

NBZ — *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*, 1912-1922, 151 vols.

Nichiiki — *Nichiiki Tōjō sho soden* (1694), comp. Tangen Jishō (d.1699), 2 fascs., in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:33-86.

Ōkubo, *DZDKK* — Ōkubo Dōshū, *Shūtei zōho Dōgen Zenjiden no kenkyū*, 1953; rev. & enl., 1966.

Reiso — *Nichiiki Sōtō reiso gyōgōki* (1672), comp. Ranzen Shun'yū (1613-1672), in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:25-31.

Rentōroku — *Nippon Tōjō rentōroku* (1727, pub. 1742), comp. Reinan Shūjo, 12 fascs., in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:191-522.

"Rinka no mondai" — (see Tamamura, "Rinka no mondai")

Ryakuden — *Higoshū Daijiji kaisan Kangan Zenji ryakuden*, in *SZ*, 17, *Shiden*, 2:259.

Ryakushō — *Bonmōkyō ryakushō* (1309), in *Shōbō genzōshō*, fascs. 30-31, in *SBGZST*, 14:482-632.

SBGZ — *Shōbō genzō*, by Dōgen, 75 + 12 chaps. (plus 6 variant and 5 supplemental chaps.), in *DZZ*, 1:7-726.

SBGZST — *Eihei shōbō genzō shūsho taisei*, 1974-1982, 25 vols.

SG — *Shūgaku kenkyū*, annual.

Shiryōshū — *Dōgen Zenji shinseki kankei shiryōshū*, supplementary vol. (26) to *SBGZST*, 1980.

Shohon Kenzeiki — *Shohon taikō Eihei kaisan Dōgen Zenji gyōjō Kenzeiki*, comp. Kawamura Kōdō, 1975.

SKK — *Sōtōshū kenkyūin kenkyūsei kenkyū kiyō*, annual.

Sōmokuroku — *Eihei shōbō genzō shūsho taisei sōmokuroku*, 1982.

SZ — *Sōtōshū zensho*, 1929-1935; rev. edn., 1970-1973, 18 vols.

T — *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*, 1924-1934, 85 vols. of texts.

Tamamura, "Rinka no mondai" — Tamamura Takeji, "Nihon Chūsei ni okeru Rinzai-Sōtō ryōshū no idō: Rinka no mondai ni tsuite" (1950), rpt. in *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū*, 2:981-1040.

Tōjō soden — *Nichiiki Tōjō sho soden*, 1694, 2 fascs., in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:33-86.

ZSZ — *Zoku Sōtōshū zensho*, 1974-1977, 10 vols.

Zuimonki — *Shōbō genzō zuimonki*, by Ejō, 6 fascs., Chōenji edn., in *Koten bungaku 81*, 317-437; alt. *DZZ*, 2:419-95.

ZZK — *Dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō*, 1905-1912, 750 vols.

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

DATES

Years are cited according to western conventions while months and days are cited according to the contemporaneous Japanese lunar calendar, so that "1243:10:11" refers to the eleventh day of the tenth lunar month of 1243. Because the western solar and Japanese lunar new years began at different times, approximately twenty-one to forty days at the end of the lunar year actually would correspond to the first days of the following western solar year. This conversion, however, has not been indicated. Intercalated lunar months are indicated by the abbreviation "int." before the numerical value of the previous month, so that "1243:int.7:1" refers to the first day of the additional lunar month counted after the seventh month of 1243.

ROMANIZATIONS

In general, Chinese pronunciations of technical terms are used in reference to events in China, while Japanese pronunciations are used in reference to Japan. Names and terms that appear in both forms are cross-referenced upon the first occurrence of the second pronunciation and in the indexes.

Japanese words have been cited according to the pronunciations indicated by the following reference works (in order of precedence): (a) *Zengaku dai jiten* (1978; rev. edn. 1985), (b) Nakamura Hajime, ed., *Bukkyōgo dai jiten* (1975), (c) *Mochizuki Bukkyō dai jiten* (1933-1935;

rev. and enl. edn., 1954; 2d enl. edn., 1963), (d) *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary* (4th edn. 1974), and (e) *Nihon kokugo dai jiten* (Shōgakkan, 1972-1976).

STYLISTIC NOTES

In personal names of Buddhist monks, a dash (-) preceding a single syllable indicates that the first half of that monk's full two-syllable name is not recorded in the document cited.

Whenever possible the most reliable edition of the primary sources has been used. However, in order to aid the reader, an alternative version of the same text (identified as "alt.") also has been included in the notes if an acceptable alternative version is more widely available than the preferred version.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Zen in Japan is unmistakenly Japanese. Religious rites at Zen temples exemplify Japanese religion as a whole. For example, the recitation of selections from the six-hundred fascicles of the *Dai hannyakyō* (Perfection of Wisdom scripture) conducted at most Zen temples as an annual New Year's rite typifies traditional Japanese concerns with ritual purification and with the this-worldly benefits of religious observance. In addition to prayers for prosperity in the coming year, Zen temples also perform this recitation in order to prevent illness and fires, to bring more rain, and to insure a bountiful harvest. At some Zen temples, the recitation will accompany a Shintō festival at the local village shrine. The Zen monks march through the village as they recite the scripture or distribute special talismans door to door. Likewise, the bonding of each Zen monastery with a local protective spirit typifies the importance of local cults in Japanese religion and the absorption of Japanese *kami* into formal institionalized Buddhism. The Sōtō Zen monastery Myōgonji (Aichi Pref.), for example, is one of Japan's most popular centers for the worship of Inari, the spirit of fertility and prosperity ordinarily depicted in the form of a fox. Finally, Zen funeral rites typify both the promise of universal salvation characteristic of Japanese Buddhism and the dominance of funeral services in the activities of Japanese Buddhist temples. In

fact, Japanese Buddhist funerals--the single most important Buddhist ritual still observed by the vast majority of Japanese--largely derive from rites that were introduced and popularized first by Zen monks.[1]

Yet precisely because these features characterize Japanese Buddhism and Japanese religion in general, one could easily cite their widespread practice at Japanese Zen temples as proof of the extinction of any real "Zen." Indeed, nowadays at the vast majority of Sōtō Zen temples popular religious worship and funeral services occupy the energies of the resident priests to the total exclusion of more traditional Zen practices, such as meditation (*zazen*).[2] This raises the seemingly innocuous issue of the relationship between Zen and the "non-Zen" practices commonly found within the Zen school. In Zen studies tacit assumptions as to what is or is not "Zen" traditionally have influenced the manner in which scholars select and evaluate their data. Students of Zen are well aware of the celebrated debate between Hu Shih who asserted that Zen must be studied and understood as an integral part of history and D. T. Suzuki who counterargued that "Zen in its historical setting" differs from "Zen in itself" because the true essence of Zen transcends all limitations of rational discourse.[3] In

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[1]Tachibana Kyōdō, "Zenshū to minzoku," in *Bukkyō minzokugaku*, ed. Gorai Shigeru et al., Kōza Nihon Minzoku Shūkyō, 2 (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1980), 328-42. Regarding the recitation of the *Dai hannyakyō*, also see Daisetz Teitarō Suzuki, *The Training of the Zen Buddhist Monk*, illustrations by Zenshu Sato (1934; rpt. New York: University Books, 1965), 77-81.

[2]Ian Reader, "Zazenless Zen? The Position of Zazen in Institutional Zen Buddhism," *Japanese Religions*, 14:3 (Dec. 1986), 7-27.

[3]Hu Shih, "Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method," *Philosophy East and West*, 3:1 (April 1953), 3-24; and Suzuki, "Zen: A Reply to Hu Shih," ibid., 25-46, esp. 26, 31, 38-39.

advocating that Zen is an inner truth rather than a particular form of Buddhism, Suzuki merely gave voice to views already implicit within Zen teachings. Zen masters insist and scholars generally have accepted that Zen Buddhism essentially is a religion of meditation and enlightenment.

Throughout the history of Japanese Zen, however, Zen monks have used their powers of meditation and enlightenment to serve the more immediate worldly needs of patrons and local laymen. Sōtō monks in rural areas conducted popular rituals that promised villagers both spiritual salvation and this-worldly benefits (*genze riyaku*). Precious little is known about the historical development of these rituals or their relationship to Zen practice. Studies of Japanese Zen rarely include consideration of any aspects of Zen practice that fail to conform to the criteria of meditation and enlightenment. The other activities of Zen monks typically are dismissed as vulgar popularizations. Yet to ignore the so-called "non-Zen" practices within Japanese Zen is to overlook a vital component of both Zen history and Japanese religion. Many so-called popular rites represent not random syncretism, but are performed in a distinctly Zen manner, the exegesis of which promises to reveal much about how Zen has assumed the character of a Japanese religion. Although many scholars have chastised Suzuki for ignoring the importance of historical circumstances, few have attempted to explore what is uniquely Japanese about Zen in Japan.

In spite of occasional nationalistic assertions that Zen survives only in Japan, for Japanese the Zen ideal always has been based in China. Most definitions of Japanese Zen represent an idealized image of what Zen (Ch. Chan) norms were supposed to have been in China. This identification of Japanese Zen with China largely reflects the

traditional assertion that Zen exists only within an exclusive lineage inherited by a select few Japanese from their Chinese masters. Interpretations as to the content of the Zen conveyed within this lineage can vary. Modern Japanese Zen masters who see Zen in terms of formless enlightenment will emphasize the need for each generation to emulate the profound experiences of the early masters of the Tang dynasty, while those who equate the Zen experience with its special expression in daily life will stress the continuation of the regulated, monastic forms developed during the Song dynasty. Regardless of whether the ideals of the Tang-dynasty masters or of the Song-dynasty traditions are alluded to, in both cases Japanese practices will be regarded as true Zen only insofar as they preserve norms imported from China.

Scholars writing about Zen, many of whom are themselves Zen monks, naturally have been influenced by the self-image promoted by the Zen school. Historical studies concentrate on the famous Tang and Song Chinese masters and on the Japanese students who transmitted their teachings. Studies of Zen in Japan have focused on the few later Japanese Zen teachers who are credited with having promoted a pure form of Zen. The Japanese traditions of Zen practice that link these later heroes to the earlier Zen teachers, however, have been overlooked. This has helped to engender an idealized image of the classical Chinese teachers and of their initial Japanese students. Contrasted with these idealized images, the practices of most later Japanese Zen teachers

typically fall short of the mark.[4] Although the Japanese Sōtō Zen school has trumpeted Dōgen's innovative reinterpretations of Chinese teachings, in general anything of Japanese origin is rejected as not being Zen. At best, the development of a Japanese Zen school with its own institutionalized hierarchy and diverse practices of Japanese origin is seen as a necessary evil that has facilitated the preservation of the trappings of traditional Zen practice.[5]

Descriptions of the development of Zen in Japan often proceed in terms of various opposites, such as: Chinese versus Japanese, pure Zen versus popularization, self-reliance versus cultic devotion, other-worldly Zen versus this-worldly esoteric prayers, or Zen versus Japanese popular religion. To a certain extent, all of these contrasts can be useful for explicating the historical interaction between Zen practices and other religious elements. Yet at the same time, too rigid an application of these categories also has inhibited scholars from examining the functions of heterogeneous Japanese religious forms within Zen life. Descriptions of actual Zen practices too often depict an uneasy blend of contradictory beliefs when in actual life they function as one well-integrated whole. For example, rather than simply

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[4]It is partially in order to avoid engendering further idealization that "Zen teacher" is used instead of "Zen master." Although the translation "Zen master" already has become well established, in historical documents the term *zenji* is used not only to refer to masters of meditation or as a title of respect, but also for any teacher of Zen. During the medieval period, monks often could become teachers at a young age after only a few years of training.

[5]For two insightful critiques of the traditional historiographical approaches to (a) Japanese Zen and to (b) general Japanese Buddhism, see (a) Funaoka Makoto, "Kamakura shoki ni okeru Zenshū seiritsu no shiteki igi," *Shūgaku kenkyū* [abb. *"SG"*], 24 (1982): 175-81; and (b) Yuasa Yasuo, "Nihon shisōshi ni okeru Bukkyō kenkyū no arikata wo megutte," *Tōyō gakujutsu kenkyū*, 21:1 (May 1982), 19-41.

dismissing as degenerate the practice of a Japanese Zen teacher praying for rain by means of performing a traditional Zen transmission ceremony to present a native *kami* with a Zen lineage chart, one might more profitably investigate both Zen and Japanese religion by asking: "What is or is not Zen about this ceremony?" "How were these Zen ceremonies adapted to the worship of native *kami?*" Or, "To what extent have Japanese Zen teachers attempted to justify or integrate this ceremony to traditional Zen practice and doctrine?"

The historical sources cannot provide complete answers to all of the types of questions just mentioned, many of which, perhaps, must also be explored through careful observation of modern practices. The past treatments of the various series of oppositions cited above, however, inform many of the discussions that follow. Moreover, the motivation for this study rests upon the belief that any attempt to elucidate the role of native religious elements within the context of modern Japanese Zen practice must be grounded in a solid understanding of the historical development of Zen practices in the lives of both monks and their lay patrons during the medieval period. For better or for worse, it was during this formative medieval period that Zen became Japanese.

The Origins of Medieval Sōtō Zen

The main events in the establishment of an independent Zen school in Japan have been recounted many times in western histories of Japanese religion. Recently, Martin Collcutt has provided a particularly detailed description of the founders of the first Japanese

Zen monasteries and their secular supporters.[6] Of these founders, three are particularly important, namely, Nōnin (n.d.), Eisai (a.k.a. Yōsai; 1141-1215), and Dōgen (1200-1253).[7] Dōgen, the founder of the Japanese Sōtō Zen school, was linked to both Eisai and Nōnin because his first Zen teacher had been Eisai's student and because many of his own students (and successors) had first studied Zen under Nōnin's students.

The earliest attempt to claim sectarian status for an independent Zen group in Japan seems to have been led by Nōnin, who taught his form of Zen at Sanbōji (a Tendai temple in Settsu) during the latter part of the twelfth century. Because Nōnin's sect, which styled itself the Darumashū (after Daruma, i.e., Bodhidharma, the semi-legendary founder of the Chinese Chan school) failed to secure a permanent institutional base, scholars had not fully realized Nōnin's importance until recently.[8] As early as 1272, however, less than one hundred years after Nōnin's death, Nichiren had correctly identified

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[6]Martin Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. Press, 1981), 25-56. Because Collcutt's study concentrates on Rinzai lineages in Japan, his description of Zen pioneers is much broader in scope, encompassing many more Zen monks and lineages than discussed below.

[7]Medieval-period manuscript copies of Dōgen's writings indicate that the characters for the name Eisai should be pronounced "Yōsai" (see, for example *Dōgen Zenji zenshū* [abb. *"DZZ"*], ed. Ōkubo Dōshū [Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1970], 1:433). Accordingly, many scholars now prefer the latter pronunciation. However, since the Tokugawa period, "Eisai" has been the form commonly used in Japan and in Japanese dictionaries (including the *Zengaku dai jiten* [1978; rev. edn. 1985] which is followed in this dissertation).

[8]Concerning Nōnin and the fate of his followers, the most detailed account in English is Bernard Faure, "The Daruma-shū, Dōgen, and Sōtō Zen," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 42:1 (Spring 1987), 25-55. For a summary of recent Japanese studies (with bibliographic citations), see Nakao Ryōshin, "Dainichibō Nōnin no Zen," *SG*, 26 (1984): 227-30.

Nōnin as the pioneer leader of the new Zen school.[9] Eisai, a contemporary of Nōnin, also founded several new Zen monasteries, the most important of which was Kenninji in Kyoto. In contrast to Nōnin, who had never left Japan, Eisai had the benefit of two extended trips to China during which he could observe Chinese Chan practices first hand. The third important early Zen leader in Japan was Dōgen, the founder of Japan's Sōtō school. Dōgen had entered Eisai's Kenninji in 1217 and, like Eisai, also traveled to China for first-hand study. Unlike Eisai (or Nōnin), after his return to Japan Dōgen attempted to implement the monastic norms followed in China. Dōgen's monasteries, Kōshōji (Dōgen's residence during 1230-1243) and Eiheiji (1244-1253), were the first in Japan to include a monks' hall (*sōdō*) within which Zen monks lived and trained according to Chinese Chan monastic regulations.

Although the activities of these three Zen teachers are relatively well-known, the reasons why Zen would have appealed to Japanese monks of that period have yet to be investigated fully. The leading Japanese scholars who emerged at the end of the second world war viewed the origins of Japanese Zen solely in terms of Japanese relations with China. In 1946, Tamamura Takeji described the development of Japanese Zen as the passive acceptance of a transplanted Chinese

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[9]Nichiren (1222-1282), *Kaimokushō*, fasc. 2, in *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* [abb. *"T"*], 84:232b. Nichiren's comments have been translated by Faure, "Daruma-shū," 28. For a collection of pertinent excerpts from many of the original sources related to Nōnin (including this one), also see Takahashi Shūei, "Dainichibō Nōnin to Darumashū ni kansuru shiryō," pt. 1, *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū*, 22:4 (June 1976), 14-16; pt. 2, ibid., 22:7 and 23:1 (Dec. 1976 and Jan. 1977 combined issue), 22-33, esp. 25-26 no. 12.

institution.[10] In 1947, Ienaga Saburō wrote that Dōgen had introduced Chinese Chan in a purely mechanical fashion, without any connection to Japanese social, historical, or religious conditions.[11] Although Sōtō scholars found Ienaga's negative evaluation of Dōgen's personal contribution unacceptable, overall the views of Tamamura and Ienaga have been widely accepted. Zen histories focus on the links uniting Nōnin, Eisai, and Dōgen to China rather than on the native social, historical, and religious milieu of these three Japanese monks. By emphasizing the foreign Chinese origins of medieval Japanese Zen, historians have encouraged the view that any Japanese deviations from the Chinese model must violate the original intentions of Japan's Zen pioneers.

However, it is difficult to explain the rapid acceptance of Zen by Japanese monks in Japan during the late twelfth century without consideration of contemporaneous Japanese religious conditions. After all, since as early as the eighth century, Zen texts, Zen practices, and Chinese Zen masters repeatedly had been introduced to Japan and to Japanese monks studying in China without leading to the creation of any Japanese Zen sects. Likewise, it is important to remember that Japan's first independent Zen sect, the Darumashū, was founded by Nōnin without any prior instruction from a Chinese teacher. Recently Funaoka Makoto has suggested that the initial Japanese importation of Chinese Chan monasticism could well have been the result of, not the cause of, a growing interest in meditation practice (i.e., *zen*) among Japanese

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[10]Tamamura Takeji, "Nihon Zenshū no denrai" (1946); rpt. in *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū* (Tokyo: Shibunkaku, 1981), 1:836-37.

[11]Ienaga Saburō, "Dōgen no shūkyō no rekishiteki seikaku," in *Chūsei Bukkyō shisōshi kenkyū* (1947; rev. edn. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1960), 50-52.

monks.[12]

The key point for Funaoka's suggestion is that Japanese Zen, like the other new Japanese Buddhist sects of the Kamakura period, initially developed among monks of low social background who deliberately rejected the complex Buddhism of Japan's large central monasteries in favor of a simple specific approach to Buddhist practice. This preference for a single practice (*senju*) can be illustrated by the career of the monk Ejō (1198-1280)--who later became the second Sōtō patriarch.[13] Ejō originally had entered Mt. Hiei to study the eclectic Buddhism of the Tendai school. Unsatisfied he later left Hiei, switching to exclusive Pure Land faith which he learned from one of the disciples of Hōnen (1133-1212). Next Ejō switched to exclusive Zen meditation which he practiced under one of Nōnin's disciples. In both cases Ejō had sought out a single specific Buddhist practice, first Pure Land and then Zen, seemingly without a predetermined preference for one or the other. Funaoka points out that Nichiren (in the same statement

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[12]Funaoka Makoto, "Kamakura shoki ni okeru Zenshū seiritsu no shiteki igi," *SG*, 24 (1982): 175-81. The concept of native origins for Japanese Zen and several of the ideas discussed below owe much to Funaoka's attempt to search for the social, historical and religious roots of Zen in Japan. Other articles by Funaoka on this subject that I have been able to consult include: "Shoki Zenshū juyō to Hieizan," in *Zenshū no sho mondai*, ed. Imaeda Aishin (Tokyo: Yūsankaku, 1979), 57-84; "Nara jidai no Zen oyobi zensō," *SG*, 25 (1983): 94-99; "Nihon Zenshūshi ni okeru Darumashū no ichi," *SG*, 26 (1984): 103-8; and "Hieizan ni okeru zenji to Zenshū: Nihon Zenshū seiritsu zenshi no ichi koma," *SG*, 27 (1985): 124-29, as well as his *Nihon Zenshū no seiritsu*, Chūsei Kenkyū Sensho (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987).

[13]There is no agreement as to the correct character for the second syllable of Ejō's name. In his own handwriting four different characters (each having the pronunciation of "shō" or "jō") appear. For details of this problem see Takeuchi Michio, "Koun Ejō Zenji no hōki ni tsuite," *SG*, 25 (1985): 1-3; and for a detailed study of Ejō's biography see his *Eihei niso Koun Ejō Zenjiden* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1982).

cited above) had attacked specifically only two monks for their exclusive practices, namely: Nōnin, the pioneer of Japanese Zen, and Hōnen, the pioneer of Japanese Pure Land. The simultaneous emergence of these two leaders and of the two groups they represented would seem to suggest the sectarian distillation of two complementary practices--faith in Pure Land and Pure-Land meditation--that previously had been subsumed within earlier Japanese Buddhism.[14]

The meditation school (i.e., Zen) was new to thirteenth-century Japanese Buddhism, but the practice of meditation (also referred to as *"zen"*) was not. Meditation terminology often appears in the context of early Japanese Pure Land because within the Tendai tradition Pure Land practice required meditative visualizations of Amida (Skt. Amitābha) and his Pure Land. Heian-period biographies of Pure Land votaries, for example, frequently extol their devotion to meditation (*zen*) or their retirement to meditation hermitages (*zenshitsu*).[15] Heian-period collections of Pure Land miracle tales include stories in which monks have death-bed visions of messengers from Pure Land who are identified as "monks adept in meditation" (*zensō*).[16] In a sectarian Zen context, of course, *zensō* would refer to "Zen monks." But in these stories, the celestial messengers most likely represented an idealized image of the Pure Land practitioners. An additional significance of the term *"zensō"* lies in that it strongly identified the saintly messengers with the very

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[14]Funaoka, "Kamakura shoki ni okeru Zenshū seiritsu," 181, "Nihon Zenshūshi ni okeru Darumashū," 104-7, and *Zenshū no seiritsu*, 127, 151.

[15]Funaoka, "Shoki Zenshū juyō to Hieizan," 66.

[16]Ibid., 68-70, and *Zenshū no seiritsu*, 81-82.

lowest class of monk in the medieval Japanese Buddhist establishment. By this period (i.e., the late Heian), specializations among Buddhist monks mirrored the rigid class distinctions of Japanese society. Aristocratic monks (known as the academicians; *gakuryo*) were expected to ponder doctrine and lecture to the nobility, while monks of low social status were left to perform menial tasks and the daily religious exercises such as chanting the scripture, sitting in meditation, and worshiping the Buddha. These lower-level monks--the same class of monks who would become the vanguard of the new Buddhist sects--were known as the meditators (*zenshu*).[17]

This linguistic multivalence has a twofold significance. First, as suggested by Ejō's career, the increase in the popularity of Pure Land practice during the late Heian period potentially could have also kindled new interest among Japanese in the Chinese meditation school (i.e., Chan/Zen). Second, similarities in vocabulary allowed Japanese monks to identify sectarian Chinese Chan practices with their own earlier native traditions. These earlier traditions encompassed more than just Pure Land practice. Both Nōnin and Eisai justified their own Zen activities by citing the sectarian Zen lineages held by Saichō (767-822), the founder of Japanese Tendai.[18] The medieval Zen monk and

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[17]The academicians also were known as *gakushu* or *gakushō* while the meditators also were known as *zentoshu, zenryo, dōgata,* and *dōshu.* See Funaoka, *Zenshū no seiritsu,* 57-71.

[18]Kokan Shiren, *Genkō Shakusho* (1322), fasc. 2, Eisai Biography, in *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* [abb. *"NBZ"*], 101:156b-157a; and Eisai, *Kōzen gokokuron* (1198), pub. 1666, fasc. 1, in *Chūsei Zenke no shisō,* ed. Ichikawa Hakugen et al., Nihon Shisō Taikei, 16 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1972), 19-20, 28. All subsequent citations of the *Kōzen gokokuron* are to this edition. Saichō's two Zen lineages cited by Eisai are the Northern School Line of Daoxuan (Dōsen; 702-760) to Gyōhyō (722-797) and the Ox-Head (*Gozu*) Line of Xiaoren (Shukunen).

historian Kokan Shiren (1278-1346) placed the transmission of Zen to Japan in the Nara period.[19] The Sōtō Zen patriarch Keizan Jōkin (1264-1325) attempted to attract lay support by identifying his new monastery with the Nara-period Buddhist folk hero Gyōgi (669-749).[20] We should note that in a more exclusive mood Keizan also had asserted that only Dōgen succeeded in bringing unadulterated Zen to Japan.[21] Yet while Japanese Zen leaders emphasized sectarian lineage and the transmission of Zen from China, their attempts to identify themselves with native precedents indicate the importance of Japanese traditions for their followers and lay patrons. In this Japanese context, the multivalence of *"zen"* could imply connotations not known in Chinese Chan.[22]

If the above considerations are permissible, then one might reasonably expect to find continuities between medieval Japanese Zen and other religious practices already associated with earlier forms of

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[19]*Genkō Shakusho*, fasc. 1, Dōshō Biography, in *NBZ*, 101:144a.

[20]Keizan Jōkin, *Sōjiji chūkō engi* (1321:6:17), Sōjiji DS, in *Sōtōshū komonjo* [abb. *"Komonjo"*], ed. Ōkubo Dōshū (Tokyo: Chikuma Shoten, 1972), no. 46, 1:33-34. Concerning this document, see chapter 4 on the founding of Sōjiji.

[21]*Denkōroku*, Shikō Sōden copy (ca.1430), Kenkon'in Ms., patriarch 51, in *Kenkon'inbon Denkōroku*, ed. Azuma Ryūshin (Tokyo: Rinjinsha, 1970), 110-11. All subsequent citations to the *Denkōroku* are to this edition. The authenticity of the *Denkōroku* had been considered doubtful before the discovery of this Kenkon'in Ms. revealed that the standard edition published during the Tokugawa period had suffered extensive editorial revisions. See Azuma, "Kaidai," in ibid., 117-33.

[22]Funaoka, "Nihon Zenshūshi ni okeru Darumashū," 105.

Japanese meditation training.[23] The development of Japanese Zen could be seen within its own context, not solely as a deviation from its Chinese namesake. A full investigation of *"zen"* semantics and meditative practices within early Japanese Buddhism obviously exceeds the scope of the present study. However, by way of introducing the topic of medieval Sōtō Zen we will comment on a few of the more significant parallels between early Japanese meditative practices and the activities of Nōnin, Eisai, and Dōgen as well as of other early Sōtō patriarchs.

In Japan meditation training always has been identified with mountain asceticism. Since the early Nara period, Japanese referred to mountain training as "pure practice" (*jōgyō*) or "meditation practice" (*zengyō*) while the Buddhist monks who trained at mountain retreats were known as "meditation masters" or *zenji* (literally, "masters of *zen*"). These so-called meditation masters comprised both self-ordained, pseudomonks as well as scholar monks from the state-supported official temples. State regulations in 718 and 729 barred pseudomonks from freely entering the mountains, but not the state-supported monks who were expected to cultivate mystical power through regular periods of

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[23]Recently Bernard Faure has skillfully employed this approach to analyze the Zen of Keizan Jōkin as a continuation of patterns that already had been present in the Darumashū (see his "Daruma-shū," 45-55). It must be stressed, however, that in the dialectics identified by Faure the Darumashū is only one representative of the indigenous culture (see ibid., p. 50). The influence of that culture would have been strongly felt even without the Darumashū. As will be shown below, its effects appeared even before Keizan. All the members of Dōgen's community--including Dōgen and the monks of non-Darumashū background--unconsciously shaped Chinese tradition to Japanese conditions, regardless of how sincerely they studied Chinese Zen texts or practiced Chinese-style Zen.

mountain meditation.[24] It was this meditation training that insured the efficacy of the esoteric Buddhist rituals performed by these monks on behalf of the state and aristocracy. The power produced by mountain meditation was known as "natural wisdom" (*jinenchi*) because it arises from within oneself. During the Nara period, eminent monks of various sectarian affiliations trained at Hisodera (on Mt. Yoshino), the mountain center of the so-called "Jinenchishū" (i.e., *jinenchi* group). Meditation for the Jinenchishū primarily focused on esoteric visualizations associated with the bodhisattva Kokūzō (Skt. Ākāśagarbha), but Hisodera also was the final residence of the Chinese Chan master Daoxuan (Jpn. Dōsen; 702-760) whose Zen lineage was transmitted to Saichō. Daoxuan personified the combination of meditation and pure practice associated with mountain asceticism because he also was a master of the Buddhist precepts.[25]

During the Nara period, the pseudomonks who devoted themselves to mountain asceticism maintained close ties to the common people from whom they obtained their support.[26] In reference to these ascetics, originally the term *"zenji"* carried the same connotations as would *"hijiri"* in later periods. These were the shamanistic religious leaders who popularized Buddhism among the lower classes, often in spite of

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[24]Sonoda Kōyū, "Kodai Bukkyō in okeru sanrin shugyō to sono igi: Toku ni Jinenchishū wo megutte" (1957); rpt. in *Heian Bukkyō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1981), 47; and Nei Kiyoshi, "Nihon kodai no zenji ni tsuite," *Bukkyō shigaku kenkyū*, 22:2 (March 1980), 15.

[25]Sonoda, "Kodai Bukkyō in okeru sanrin shugyō," 32-40.

[26]For a complete review of the roles of *zenji* within Nara and Heian-period Japanese Buddhism, see Nei, "Nihon kodai no zenji," 13-56.

their own deficiencies in Buddhist knowledge.[27] Many *zenji* traveled through rural areas, residing in local shrines. In rural areas the *zenji* would perform various good deeds, such as copy Buddhist scriptures or dedicate new Buddhist chapels. The better educated ones also provided secular services such as the supervision of new village construction projects. Like their official counterparts, these mountain ascetics were expected to possess mystical powers, especially the ability to cure illness. Their healing techniques combined esoteric rituals and recitation of Buddhist scriptures with their practical knowledge of mountain herbs and medicinal plants.[28]

Eventually these non-official *zenji* also were incorporated into the state-supported Buddhist establishment. In 758 the imperial court ordered all mountain hermits of more than ten years of "pure practice" to be ordained as proper monks. Twelve years later, in 770, all restrictions on mountain training were lifted. Finally, in 772, the court assigned official status and provided daily rations to ten mountain *zenji* (known as *jūzenji;* literally "the ten *zenji*"), who were selected for their healing abilities and pure practice. Originally "pure practice" would have implied only mountain asceticism, but in later documents this term assumed the more literal meaning of strict observance of the Buddhist precepts.[29] After the establishment of the Japanese Tendai school, *jūzenji* usually were appointed from the ranks of

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[27]Regarding the shamanistic character of the mountain ascetics, see Joseph M. Kitagawa, *Religion in Japanese History* (New York: Columbia U. Press, 1966), 38-42.

[28]Nei, "Nihon kodai no zenji," 20-29.

[29]Ibid., 31-35.

Tendai monks. The term soon lost its numerical connotations as the court frequently assigned separate *jūzenji* to each of the major Tendai halls on Mt. Hiei. In addition to being called upon for their curative powers, each of the *jūzenji* were assigned different daily meditation and ritual tasks. In 847, for example, the *jūzenji* at the Jōshin'in subtemple on Mt. Hiei were ordered to recite the *Dai hannyakyō* daily.[30] Court sponsorship of this type of *zenji* continued until the fourteenth century.[31]

The establishment of court-appointed *zenji* within the Tendai school signifies that the Tendai precedent cited by Nōnin and Eisai to defend their own propagation of Zen implied not just the Chinese Chan lineages introduced by Saichō but also the Mt. Hiei *zenji* tradition. Eisai explicitly identified himself with the *zenji* tradition on Mt. Hiei by repeating a passage from the writings of the Tendai patriarch Enchin (814-891) that labeled monks who practice Zen, Tendai, and Shingon (i.e., esoteric rituals) all as *zenji*.[32] Eisai was not alone in equating the content of sectarian Zen (but not its sectarian independence) with Japanese Tendai practices. His earlier contemporary, the Tendai monk Shōshin (fl.1188) for example, wrote that the comprehensive rubric of Tendai meditation incorporates both Shingon and Darumashū (i.e., the Zen sect).[33] On Mt. Hiei Chinese Chan texts were

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[30]Ibid., 31-56; and Funaoka, "Hieizan ni okeru zenji to Zenshū," 124-29.

[31]Funaoka, "Hieizan ni okeru zenji to Zenshū," 125.

[32]*Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 1, 28-29. Also see Enchin, *Shoke kyōsō dōi ryakushū*, in *T*, 74:312c.

[33]*Tendai Shingon nishū dōishō* (1188), in *T*, 74:420b.

studied in light of Tendai doctrines. The *Sugyōroku* (Ch. *Zongjinglu*; 961), an encyclopedic survey of Chinese Chan explained in terms of scholastic Buddhist concepts, had been popular on Mt. Hiei since as early as 1094.[34] Medieval Tendai conceptions of original enlightenment (*hongaku hōmon*) developed at least partially through the influence of Chan texts.[35]

Although both Nōnin and Eisai attempted to establish independent Zen monasteries, in many ways their teachings were more representative of Japanese traditions than of Chinese Chan. As shown above, Japanese associated meditation with "pure" monks who applied themselves to practical Buddhist training techniques, such as mountain asceticism, esoteric rituals, and Pure Land visualizations. These monks were thought to attain mystical powers and natural enlightenment (i.e., *jinenchi* and Tendai original enlightenment). In Nōnin's Zen, the principles of original enlightenment and mystical powers were most prominent. Nōnin's knowledge of Zen was self taught. Although two of Nōnin's disciples went to China in order to obtain a formal Chan succession for Nōnin, the Darumashū inherited none of the doctrinal

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[34]Imaeda Aishin, "'Sugyōroku' to Kamakura shoki Zenrin," in *Chūsei Zenshūshi no kenkyū* (1970; rpt. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1982), 73-75.

[35]Shimaji Daitō, *Nihon Bukkyō kyōgakushi*, Shimaji Daitō Sensei Icho (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1933), 500-1. Note that the phrase "medieval Tendai" (i.e., *chūko Tendai*) is a technical term coined by Shimaji (1875-1927) and his students to refer to the particular Japanese interpretations of doctrines such as "original enlightenment" (*hongaku*), "faith" (*shin*) and "meditation" (*kanjin*) that were codified in secret oral traditions and initiation documents (*kirikami*) within various Japanese Tendai lineages. Regarding this categorization also see his "Hongaku no shinkō" (1906), rpt. in *Shisō to shinkō*, Shimaji Daitō Sensei Icho (1928; rpt., Tokyo: Nakayama Shobō, 1978), 532; and "Nihon ko Tendai kenkyū no hitsuyō wo ronzu" (1926); rpt. in *Kyōri to shiron*, Shimaji Daitō Sensei Icho (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1931), 118-39.

characteristics possessed by its nominal Chinese parent.[36] The Darumashū taught that because one's own mind already is Buddha, the desire for enlightenment already is its attainment. If one believes in this inherent Buddha mind, then one is not only freed from all sin without having to observe the Buddhist precepts but also delivered from all torments to a life of continual pleasure. Observance of the Buddhist precepts, Chan-style meditation, and formal rituals all were disparaged.[37]

In Eisai's Zen, the elements of pure practice and esoteric Buddhism predominated. For Eisai, Zen practice meant the strict observance of the Buddhist precepts. He believed that Zen practice would breathe new life into Japanese Tendai by reviving the precepts.[38] At Kenninji Eisai did establish regular sessions for Chan meditation, but these were performed within the traditional Tendai monastic setting.[39] Eisai's instructional activities centered on transmitting esoteric practices, for which he is regarded as the founder of the Yōjō

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[36]Ishii Shūdō, "Busshō Tokkō to Nihon Darumashū: Kanazawa bunko hokan 'Jōtō shōgakuron' wo tegakari toshite," pt. 2, *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū*, 20:12 (Dec. 1974), 10-13.

[37]Ishii Shūdō, "Busshō Tokkō to Nihon Darumashū," pt. 1, *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū*, 20:11 (Nov. 1974), 4-11. Also see *Jōtō shōgakuron narabi ni Eian sōdōki*, copied ca. 14 cent., Kanazawa Bunko Ms., in *Zensekihen*, ed. Kagamishima Genryū, Kawamura Kōdō and Ishii Shūdō, Kanazawa Bunko Shiryō Zensho--Butten, 1 (Yokohama: Kanazawa Bunko, 1974), 203-4. All subsequent citations of the *Jōtō shōgakuron* are to this edition.

[38]Eisai's attitude toward the Buddhist precepts is discussed in detail in Chapter 7, "Precept Ordinations."

[39]Eisai, *Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 3, 80-85.

lineage within the Tendai esoteric tradition.[40] The Japanese Rinzai monk Mujū Dōgyō (1226-1312) repeatedly noted the lack of formal Zen training at Eisai's Kenninji.[41] Both Nōnin and Eisai had relied extensively on the doctrinal approach of the *Sugyōroku* for their understanding of Chinese Chan.[42] It is doubtful if either had ever conceived of Zen enlightenment as being any different from the Tendai teachings--original enlightenment or esoteric realization--they already knew.[43]

Sōtō scholars usually portray Dōgen as the first Japanese to teach an unadulterated form of Chinese Chan in Japan. Dōgen himself asserted that he was the first to introduce a great number of Chinese Chan monastic practices and facilities, such as: the techniques of Zen meditation (*zazengi*), evening lectures (*bansan*), the office of monastic cook (*tenzo*), the monks' hall, formal Zen lectures (*jōdō*), the annual observance of the anniversary of the Buddha's enlightenment, informal end-of-year lectures (*joya no shōsan*), and the proper methods of taking

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[40]Ōya Tokujō, "Kamakura jidai no Zenke shoke to mikkyō," *Zengaku kenkyū*, 3-4 (1926-27), rpt. in *Nihon Bukkyōshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōhō Bunken Kankōkai, 1928), 3:365-81.

[41]See his "Jiritsu zazen no koto," in *Zōdanshū*, chap. 8, rpt. Koten Bunko (Tokyo: Koten Bunko, 1950), 2:287-88; and "Kenninji no monto no naka ni rinju medetaki koto," in *Shasekishū*, chap. 10B, rpt. ed. Watanabe Tsunaya, Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei, 85 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977), 453.

[42]Regarding Nōnin, see Ishii, "Busshō Tokkō to Nihon Darumashū, pt. 1, 8-13. Regarding Eisai, see Yanagida Seizan, *Rinzai no kafū*, Nihon no Bukkyō, 9 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1967), 61.

[43]Ishii Shūdō, "Busshō Tokkō to Nihon Darumashū," pt. 2, *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū*, 20:12 (Dec. 1974), 10-15; and Yanagida Seizan, "Eisai to 'Kōzen gokokuron' no kadai," in *Chūsei Zenke no shisō*, 459.

meals and face washing.[44] Dōgen ridiculed the earlier Chinese Chan teachers Yigong (Jpn. Gikū) and Daofang (Dōhō) who came to Japan in the ninth century, saying that they had never taught Zen nor experienced enlightenment (*shinjin datsuraku*).[45] Yet Dōgen was hardly unique in his self aggrandizement. Nōnin did not know Chinese Chan and that Eisai did not attempt to implement Chinese practices, but as Japanese monks, Nōnin, Eisai, and Dōgen each had sought to emphasize the primacy of their links to Chinese Chan while depreciating the abilities of previous Zen teachers in Japan. The Darumashū asserted that Chinese Chan first arrived in Japan in 1189 when Nōnin inherited the Linji (Jpn. Rinzai) lineage of Deguang (Tokkō; 1121-1203).[46] Eisai, however, denounced the Darumashū by name as a false Zen that leads people to evil.[47] Eisai felt it necessary to attack not just Nōnin but also Kakua, a Japanese monk who had succeeded to the Chan line of Xiatang Huiyuan (Katsudō Eon; 1103-1176) but returned to Japan without ever teaching any disciples. Eisai taunted that the smart man (i.e., Nōnin) never went to China, while the stupid man (i.e., Kakua) went but could never accomplish

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[44]See, in order, *DZZ*, 2:6, 2:31, 2:35, 2:78, 2:86, 2:101, 2:146, 2:298, and 1:435. According to Zen monastic regulations, at major monasteries the abbot must give two types of lectures on a regular basis. The first type, usually given from the head (*jōdō*) of either the lecture hall (*hattō*) or the Buddha hall (*Butsuden*), are lectures on formal Zen topics (*daisan*) usually selected from Chinese texts. The second type, usually given in the abbot's building (*hōjō*), are lectures on informal topics (*shōsan*) such as the daily life of the community of monks. Although I have distinguish these two lectures in terms of the formality of their settings and topics, in both types the abbot and monks would follow prescribed etiquette.

[45]*Eihei Dōgen oshō kōroku* [abb. "*Kōroku*"], copied 1598 by Monkaku (d.1615), sec. 5, lec. 358, in *DZZ*, 2:88.

[46]*Jōtō shōgakuron*, 202b.

[47]*Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 2, 41.

anything.[48]

Dōgen's claims to having established Chinese Chan in Japan, like the similar claims of his predecessors, should not obscure his own strong ties to Japanese Buddhist traditions. Manuscript copies of the Sōtō history by Kenzei reveal that Dōgen had studied Tendai on Mt. Hiei much longer than previously thought, not merely from 1212 to 1214 but until 1217. This means that Dōgen's study of the Buddhist canon occurred not at Eisai's Kennenji but on Mt. Hiei. Dōgen must have known more Tendai doctrine and ritual than admitted by traditional biographies.[49] More so than either Nōnin or Eisai, Dōgen's Zen recalled the earlier traditions of mountain asceticism and pure practice.[50] Dōgen founded his first Zen community outside of the capital. In 1240 he wrote two essays in praise of mountain training.[51] In 1243 Dōgen moved his community to rural Echizen, initially residing at Mt. Zenjihō (literally, *zenji* peak), a traditional center for mountain asceticism.[52] Unlike Eisai who sought to follow the same precepts as Chinese Chan

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[48]*Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 3, 96-97; and the commentary on this passage by Yanagida Seizan, "Eisai to 'Kōzen gokokuron,'" 470-71.

[49]Menzan Zuihō (1683-1769), the influential Sōtō scholar, had asserted that Dōgen studied directly under Eisai at Kenninji beginning in 1214, but Menzan had deliberately distorted his sources. See Kagamishima Genryū, "Eisai-Dōgen sōken mondai ni tsuite: Ko shahon 'Kenzeiki' hakken ni chinamite" (1963); rpt. in *Dōgen*, ed. Kawamura Kōdō and Ishikawa Rikizan, Nihon Meisō Ronshū, 8 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), 41-57.

[50]Sugawara Shōei, "Sanchū shugyō no dentō kara mita Dōgen no kyūsaikan ni tsuite," in *Kyūsai to sono ronri*, Nihon Shūkyōshi Kenkyū, 4, ed. Kasahara Kazuo (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1974), 77-103.

[51]*Shōbō genzō* [abb. *"SBGZ"*], "Keisei sanshō" and "Sansuikyō" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:223, 267.

[52]Nakaseko Shōdō, *Dōgen Zenjiden kenkyū* [abb. *"DZD"*] (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1979), 363-68.

monks, Dōgen upheld the Japanese Tendai tradition of bodhisattva precepts.[53] Although Dōgen rejected the unrestrained license inherent in the antinomianism of the Darumashū, his faith in Zen practice as the expression of one's inherent enlightenment is no less indebted to the Japanese Tendai doctrine of original enlightenment.[54] His fascination with language reveals the influence of the Tendai hermeneutical tradition that sought liberation in the written word.[55]

The new Zen school that Dōgen established, therefore, combined Japanese and Chinese traditions through the crucible of Dōgen's own personality. Dōgen clearly had regarded himself as a faithful transmitter of the Chinese Chan tradition. Yet many features of Chinese

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[53]For detailed citations of the differences in how Eisai and Dōgen interpreted the precepts, see chapter 7.

[54]This issue has been addressed by many scholars, beginning with Hazama Jikō, "Kamakura jidai ni okeru shinjō sōmetsuron ni kansuru kenkyū," in *Nihon Bukkyō no tenkai to sono kichō*, 2, *Chūko Nihon Tendai no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1948), 298-318. However, the extent of Dōgen's indebtedness to Japanese Tendai remains a controversial issue among Sōtō scholars. In particular, Kagamishima Genryū--who attempts to interpret Dōgen's thought as a Japanese development of tenets already present within early Chinese Chan texts--and Tamura Yoshirō--who attempts to study Dōgen within the context of developments within Japanese Tendai--each have criticized the position of the other. See (a) Kagamishima, "Dōgen Zenji to Tendai hongaku hōmon," *SG*, 2 (1960): 50-57; (b) Tamura, "Dōgen to Tendai hongaku shisō," in *Kamakura shin Bukkyō shisō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1965), 548-75, esp. 569-71 n. 39; and (c) Kagamishima, "Honshō myōshu no shisō shiteki kenkyū," *SG*, 7 (1965), rpt. in *Dōgen*, 97-104. Recently, Yamauchi Shun'yū has attempted to illuminate this question by examining the manner in which metaphysical conceptions from esoteric tantric Buddhism gradually permeated exoteric Tendai doctrines in medieval Japan. See his *Dōgen Zenji to Tendai hongaku hōmon* (Tokyo: Daizō Shuppansha, 1986).

[55]The *Kankō ruijū* (attributed to Chūjin, 1065-1138), for example, states that neither the Zen masters who practice ignorant enlightenment (*anshō zenji*) nor the master lecturers who recite the scripture (*jumon hosshi*) know that language is not words and letters but liberation (fasc. 1, in *NBZ*, 17:13b).

Chan Dōgen expressly rejected; others he reinterpreted. In order to emphasize Dōgen's originality, some Sōtō scholars use the term "Dōgen Zen" rather than "Sōtō Zen" when describing the crucial features of his religious teachings. Dōgen Zen, however, typically signifies an idealized model (i.e., a religious paradigm to be emulated) stripped of all historical and biographical ambiguity.[56] Dōgen's pure practice, for example, usually is interpreted as a rejection of the very types of popular cultic worship and esoteric powers traditionally associated with the concept, even though Dōgen's activities included lay worship ceremonies which more than once were accompanied by miraculous events, such as the materialization of heavenly flowers over the alter statuary.[57] Regardless of the relative importance to be assigned to these miracles in terms of Dōgen Zen, their importance for Dōgen's relations with his lay patrons cannot be overestimated. Moreover, they help to explain the combination of strict Zen training and cultic elements (e.g., worship of Kokūzō) that appears in the biographies of Keizan and of Dōgen's disciple Gikai (1219-1309).[58] Viewed from this

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[56]For a critical reappraisal of Dōgen Zen, see Carl Bielefeldt, "Recarving the Dragon: History and Dogma in the Study of Dōgen," in *Dōgen Studies*, ed. William R. LaFleur, Studies in East Asian Buddhism, 2 (Honolulu: U. of Hawaii, 1985), 21-53. Bielefeldt, however, exaggerates the degree of importance that Sōtō tradition has attributed to Rujing (1163-1228; i.e., Dōgen's teacher in China). Just the opposite more often has been the case. Among Sōtō-affiliated scholars, only Itō Keidō and Kagamishima Genryū have stressed the importance of Rujing for any attempt to understand Dōgen.

[57]Dōgen, *Jūroku rakan genzuiki* (1249:1:1), in *DZZ*, 2:399; and Ejō, *Eiheiji sanko ryōzuiki*, in *DZZ*, 2:398.

[58]See the biography of Gikai in chapter 3 and the section on Keizan's religious personality in chapter 4. In light of the fact that Kokūzō first became linked to the *zenji* tradition at Hisodera, it is perhaps fitting that today the original site of Hisodera is occupied by a Sōtō temple, the Sesonji.

perspective, it is not surprising that many medieval Japanese Sōtō practices seem to resemble the tradition of the earlier mountain ascetics (*zenji*) more than the modern image of Dōgen Zen.

Sōtō Zen in Medieval Japan

During the medieval period, the Sōtō school rapidly expanded from Dōgen's single, small monastic community to several extended networks of temples spread throughout the rural areas of nearly every Japanese province. This rapid growth resulted from the ability of early Sōtō leaders to develop new methods of monastic organization and from their skill at serving the religious needs of newly emerging segments of rural society. Along with the prestige of their strict, monastic Zen disciple, the Sōtō monks brought to rural areas a level of religious expertise that previously had been unavailable. Rural Zen monks, both Sōtō and Rinzai, were able to found new temples merely by assuming residence in the small Buddhist chapels maintained in most rural villages.[59] At these chapels, they would provide whatever types of religious services their lay supporters required. Many Sōtō monasteries originated with new village construction projects, the pacifying of evil demons, and the spiritual conversion of local Japanese *kami* to Zen. Sōtō monks became adept at providing new symbols of religious authority to temple patrons, as well as at providing devotional services, Buddhist ordinations, and Zen funeral rituals to broad segments of society.

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[59]As pointed out by Tamamura Takeji, medieval Japanese Zen should be analyzed in terms of urban-rural differences, rather than in terms of a Rinzai-Sōtō dichotomy. See his, "Nihon chūsei Zenrin ni okeru Rinzai-Sōtō ryōshū no idō: 'Rinka' no mondai ni tsuite" [abb. "Rinka no mondai"] (1950); rpt. in *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū*, 2:981-1040.

To secure the survival of their new Sōtō institutions, Sōtō leaders united networks of temples into pyramidal hierarchies based on controlled abbotship succession. In their structure and in their patterns of regional growth, these Sōtō temple networks reflected the political alliances of the locally-powerful warriors who provided much of the patronage at major monasteries. The abbotship of prestigious monasteries and other ecclesiastical honors were sold for financial contributions. In order to control both monasteries and monks, Sōtō temple networks were organized into sectarian factions, nominally representing different Zen lineages. Zen lineages, however, were not necessarily inherited from one's own teacher, but would have to be changed whenever a monk moved to a different temple network. Likewise, the so-called "founders" of various lineages would automatically be credited with having founded the entire sectarian faction, regardless of what their actual roles might have been.60

While incorporating the various features of rural Japanese religion into their own Sōtō practice, Sōtō monks never abandoned the sitting in meditation and *kōan* study that are the hallmarks of traditional Zen practice. Yet they created new Japanese techniques of Zen practice and Zen worship. The most notable of these was the secret initiation into the esoteric meaning of Zen. In this system, monks

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60For these reasons, lineage affiliations often distort as much as inform the historical record. The career of Keizan Jōkin, for example, is easily misunderstood when considered (as is usually the case) only from the standpoint of his lineage affiliation, while ignoring his very important initiatory relationships with other Sōtō patriarchs who are described as founders of rival factions. (The manner in which teaching relationships and lineage affiliations [i.e., dharma succession] only partially overlap is illustrated in figure 2, "Lineages Within the Early Japanese Sōtō School.")

acquired the authority necessary to become Zen teachers by memorizing the secret words and gestures that were to accompany each of their daily monastic routines. Monks had to undergo a series of initiations in which they were instructed by means of secret formulae recorded on individual sheets of paper (*kirikami*). Instead of producing formal *goroku* (collections of recorded sayings in the Chinese style) as Dōgen had done, medieval Sōtō teachers developed their own genre of colloquial commentaries (*shōmono*) on classic Zen texts. The same techniques developed for teaching *kōan* also were applied to native religious traditions. Lay people participated in this Zen, not by abandoning their worldly attachments but by being ordained with mysterious "Zen precepts" said to embody the essence of the Buddhism brought to China by Bodhidharma, the semi-legendary founder of the Chinese Chan school. Funeral rites originally intended only for Zen monks were modified into ritual confirmations of salvation for lay people.

In the chapters that follow, we will describe first the historical development of the medieval Sōtō monasteries and lineages. Then we will analyze the development of the new streamlined techniques of religious training and propagation that helped to popularize medieval Sōtō and to transform its Zen from a religion of solitary enlightenment into one of shared salvation for both monks and their lay followers.

CHAPTER 2

DŌGEN AND THE FOUNDING OF JAPANESE SŌTŌ

Dōgen is the founder of the Japanese Sōtō school. There have been other Sōtō Zen lineages in Japan, but all the Sōtō temples and monasteries in Japan today are united only through Dōgen's lineage. It is this Zen lineage transmitted from China to Japan by Dōgen that has served to authenticate the legitimacy of the Japanese Sōtō tradition. But it is the personal expression of Chinese Chan found in his writings that has served to justify Sōtō claims to a unique, superior approach to Buddhism. This symbolic status as founder has insured Dōgen's place as the object of much sectarian scholarship. Since the Tokugawa period, Sōtō reformers and counter-reformers have cited selected passages from Dōgen's writings to support or refute each other over a wide variety of doctrinal controversies, each side defending their version of Dōgen Zen against the supposed distortions of the other. In more recent times, Dōgen's genius of expression has won him the attention and admiration of increasing numbers of nonsectarian scholars both inside and outside of Japan.[1] Yet for all this scholarly attention more questions have been raised than answered. Dōgen was an especially prolific writer who composed major works spanning several genres both in Chinese form and in

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[1]See William R. LaFleur, "Dōgen in the Academy," in *Dōgen Studies*, 1-20; and Hee-Jin Kim, *Dōgen Kigen--Mystical Realist*, The Association for Asian Studies: Monograph 29 (Tucson: U. of Arizona Press, 1975), 1-11.

his own unique Japanese idiom. By analyzing the development of this corpus it is possible to amass a great many details concerning Dōgen's activities without fully uncovering the social circumstances within which they occurred.[2] Subsequent chapters will discuss specific aspects of Dōgen's teachings and their relationship (or lack thereof) to the development of medieval Sōtō Zen.[3] Below we will focus on Dōgen's activities as the leader of his new Japanese Zen community.

While many details of Dōgen's early life remain unclear, its basic outline already has been described in western sources.[4] Despite his aristocratic birth (Dōgen described his father as an *ashō* or counselor of state), he seems to have lacked the familial standing necessary for a successful government career. Dōgen probably had been an illegitimate child, and his mother is said to have died when he was only seven years old.[5] Sometime after his mother's death Dōgen became a monk on Mt. Hiei, one of the main centers of the Tendai Buddhist

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[2]The most reliable, comprehensive study of the disputed facts of Dōgen's life yet published is Nakaseko, *DZD.* For an analysis of recent attempts to relate the development of Dōgen's teachings to his social and political circumstances, see Bielefeldt, "Recarving the Dragon."

[3]These discussions include Dōgen's attitude toward the secular political order (chaps. 2, section on Giin, and 3) and toward Eisai and ritual prayers (chap. 2, section on Gikai), as well as his teachings on *kōan* practice (chap. 6) and on the Buddhist precepts and Zen monastic regulations (chap. 7).

[4]For a particularly detailed treatment of the traditional interpretation of Dōgen's biography, see James Kodera, *Dogen's Formative Years in China: An Historical Study and Annotated Translation of the "Hōkyōki,"* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980).

[5]For Dōgen's references to his father, see *Kōroku*, secs. 5, 7, lecs. 363, 524, in *DZZ*, 2:87, 139. Regarding the interpretation of these references and Dōgen's social position, see Nakaseko, *DZD*, 49-75. Nakaseko's research identifies Dōgen's father as Minamoto Michitomo (d.1227) and his mother as an unidentifiable secondary consort (*mekake*).

establishment. On Mt. Hiei, as well, Dōgen discovered that political connections and social prominence were essential for advancement. Disillusioned, he became one of the many lower-level monks of the time who forsook the worldly Tendai establishment to pursue a purer vision of Buddhism. Dōgen first searched unsuccessfully for a new teacher on Mt. Hiei, then in 1217 he entered Kenninji.[6] At that time Kenninji lacked any social prestige as a Zen monastery.[7] Officially it was a Tendai temple (affiliated to Mt. Hiei) with special halls for Tendai rituals but none for Zen meditation.[8] There Dōgen became the disciple of Myōzen (1184-1225), one of the monks who had succeeded to Eisai's lineage.

In 1223 Dōgen and Myōzen journeyed to China together to study Chan firsthand at Jingdesi (Jpn. Keitokuji), the monastery where Eisai had acquired his Chan lineage. In his later writings Dōgen often idealized China, but when he first arrived he seems to have experienced difficulty accepting a Chinese teacher. After two years in China--shortly before Myōzen's death during the fifth month of 1225--Dōgen met Rujing (Jpn. Nyojō; 1163-1228), a Chan master of the Caodong (Jpn. Sōtō)

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[6]Dōgen described these events to his disciple Ejō. See *Shōbō genzō zuimonki* [abb. *"Zuimonki"*] (copied 1380, recopied 1644), Chōenji (Aichi Pref.) Ms., 5, in *Shōbō genzō, Shōbō genzō zuimonki*, Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei, 81, ed. Nishio Minoru et al. [abb. *"Koten bungaku-81"*] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1965), 400-1; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:471-72; and Kagamishima Genryū, "Eisai-Dōgen sōken mondai," 49-54. On these biographical details the Chōenji Ms. contains crucial gramatical differences from the standard edition that was edited by Menzan during the Tokugawa period.

[7]Funaoka, *Zen no seiritsu*, 195.

[8]Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, 3, *Chūseihen 2* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1949), 74.

lineage.[9] Rujing had been appointed abbot at the Jincisi (Jpn. Jōjiji or Jinzuji) twice before assuming the abbotship at Jingdesi in late 1224.[10] This was quite an accomplishment. Rujing was one of the few Chan masters from outside of the dominant Linji-Dahui lineage who had attained the abbotship of such prestigious *Wushan* (Five Mountain Ranked) monasteries.[11] Dōgen became Rujing's disciple and soon was allowed to visit informally in the abbot's building for personal instruction.[12] Two years later in the autumn of 1227 Dōgen returned to Japan with Rujing's lineage and ashes from Myōzen's cremation.[13] For Dōgen, Rujing always would be "the old Buddha" but he never forgot Myōzen. His writings refer to both Myōzen and Rujing (but no one else) by the title *senshi* (former teacher).[14]

Dōgen seems to have cautiously avoided proclaiming his Zen immediately after returning to Japan. In 1227 he freely referred to himself as a monk who "transmits the [Buddhist] Law from Song [China]"

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[9]Kagamishima Genryū, "Dōgen Zenji no zaisōchū no gyōjitsu," in *Dōgen Zenji to sono shūhen*, Gakujutsu Sōsho: Zen Bukkyō, ed. Furuta Shōkin et al. (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1985), 312-15.

[10]Kagamishima Genryū, *Tendō Nyojō Zenji no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1983), 81-88. Both Jincisi and Jingdesi are located in modern Zhejiang Province, near the cities of Hangzhou and Ningbo respectively.

[11]The monopolization of appointments to state-sponsored temples by members of the Dahui (Jpn. Daie) line of Linji (Jpn. Rinzai) Chan is discussed by Tamamura Takeji, *Gozan bungaku: Tairiku bunka shōkaisha to shite no gozan Zensō no katsudō*, Nihon Rekishi Shinsho (1966; rpt., Tokyo: Shibundō, 1985), 38-39.

[12]Dōgen, *Hōkyōki*, copied 1253:12:10 by Ejō, Zenkyūin (Aichi Pref.) Ms., in *DZZ*, 2:371.

[13]Dōgen, *Shari sōdenki* (1227:10:5), in *DZZ*, 2:395-96.

[14]Nakaseko, *DZD*, 140, 157-58 nn. 1-2.

(*nissō denbō*).[15] Yet there is no evidence to suggest that Dōgen forthwith sought independence from Kenninji, actively transmitted any teachings, or publicly preached what he had learned. Reportedly, Dōgen had composed one version of his meditation manual (*Fukan zazengi*) immediately after returning to Japan. But that early version has not survived, and its contents or audience cannot be known with certainty.[16] In 1194 the imperial court had prohibited Nōnin and Eisai from teaching Zen after the Tendai establishment had expressed its opposition.[17] Perhaps Dōgen also felt constrained by this prohibition. Certainly, the intervening years had not lessened the anti-Zen hostility of the Tendai prelates. Any attempt to establish sectarian independence would have met with stiff opposition. In any case, Dōgen quietly resided at Kenninji for three years without reforming the faulty monastic practices he reportedly found there.[18] Then he moved outside of the capital to a small hermitage located at Fukakusa. This is where Dōgen would establish Kōshōji, the first full-fledged Zen monastery in Japan. This monastery was not founded officially until 1236 but his community of followers began to form much earlier.

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[15] *Shari sōdenki*, in *DZZ*, 2:396.

[16] Carl Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals of Zen Meditation* (Berkeley: U. of Calif. Press, 1988), 15-22.

[17] *Hyakurenshō*, fasc. 10, entry for 1194:7:5, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikei* (Tokyo: Koshikawa Kōbunkan, 1929), 11:125.

[18] Dōgen, *Tenzo kyōkun* (1237), in *DZZ*, 2:300.

The Kōshōji Community

Dōgen established his residence at Fukakusa within a Kannon chapel (the Kannon Dōriin) on the grounds of a small temple known as the Gokurakuji. We do not know who initially sponsored Dōgen or supported his temple. In this case historical records of temple sponsorship are not reliable because "Gokurakuji" was a common name used by many small temples.[19] Dōgen's move to Fukakusa, however, must nave resulted from the encouragement of his first lay patrons and novice followers. His extant literary works from this period give some indication of his activities. During the summer of 1231 he composed two works: a short exhortation for the nun Ryōnen and a Japanese-language essay titled *Bendōwa* (A Talk on Pursuing the Way).[20] This essay consists of a series of questions and answers that explain the principles of Zen in simple, direct language. Addressed to the doubts of new students, *Bendōwa* asserts that Zen refers not to a type of meditation but to the actualization of the perfect enlightenment enjoyed by all Buddhas. It is the only true form of Buddhism (*shōbō*), a form of practice handed down directly from the Buddha that is accessible to all: men, women, government ministers, and commoners.

By the summer of 1232 enough students had committed themselves to Dōgen that he was able to conduct the traditional ninety-day Zen training session (*ango*). During this period he produced a revised

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[19]Nakaseko, *DZD*, 281-89.

[20]*Ji Ryōnen ni hōgo* (1231:7) in *Dōgen zenji shinseki kankei shiryōshū* [abb. *"Shiryōshū"*], *Eihei shōbō genzō shūshō taisei* [abb. *"SBGZST"*] (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1980), 26:215-20; and *Bendōwa* (1231:8:15), in *DZZ*, 1:729-46, alt. 1:747-63.

meditation manual and wrote two more Japanese-language essays, one of which was presented to a layman from northern Kyushu.[21] Clearly Dōgen was beginning to make a name for himself. Moreover, he must have acquired serious students because these new essays contain some of his most obtuse and profound prose.[22] Dōgen's most important disciple was Ejō, the monk responsible for collecting and preserving his writings. Indeed Ejō's prominent role in Dōgen's literary efforts led Sōtō scholars in the Tokugawa period to assume that he edited and revised Dōgen's works. While most scholars now take the opposite view and regard Ejō as a faithful copyist, his close relationship with Dōgen warrants our careful attention.[23]

Ejō first joined Dōgen's community during the winter of 1234, but their first meeting had occurred several years earlier while Dōgen was at Kenninji. At that time Ejō already had mastered the Zen of the Darumashū. He sought out Dōgen to compare their respective insights but soon left after discovering major differences.[24] We do not know where Ejō went afterwards or what brought him back to Dōgen's side. Upon arriving at Fukakusa, Ejō soon began to write down in colloquial

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[21]See *SBGZ* chaps. "Genjō kōan," "Maka hannya haramitsu," and *Fukan zazengi* (1233:7:15), in *DZZ*, 1:10, 13, 2:5.

[22]*SBGZ*, "Genjō kōan" is particularly esteemed as a concise presentation of the essence of Dōgen Zen.

[23]Furuta Shōkin is one of the few recent scholars to argue that Ejō played a more active literary role. See his *Shōbō genzō no kenkyū* (1972), rpt. in Furuta Shōkin Choshakushū (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1981), 4:20-23; and the response by Kagamishima Genryū, "'Shōbō genzō' no seiritsuteki kenkyū ni tsuite: Furuta Shōkinshi cho 'Shōbō genzō no kenkyū' ni chinande" (1973), rpt. in *Dōgen Zenji to sono shūhen*, 234-45.

[24]Keizan, *Denkōroku*, Patriarch 52, 112.

Japanese Dōgen's conversations. His journal, known as the *Zuimonki*, is our primary record of Dōgen's teachings at Fukakusa and today is often regarded as an easily understood introduction to Dōgen Zen. Yet while the words are Dōgen's, the selection of topics reflects Ejō's own interests as a Darumashū monk. For example, it contains numerous passages concerning the Buddhist precepts because of conflicts between the Darumashū and Dōgen over their role in Zen practice.[25] By 1238 Ejō had stopped adding new material to his journal. At this point he already had become Dōgen's number-one disciple, in charge of supervising the other monks at Fukakusa. For the four-year period during which Ejō recorded his own journal, there are no extant Japanese-language essays by Dōgen. From 1238 on, however, Dōgen began to produce increasing numbers of essays.[26] He would present them as lectures, revise them, and order them into chapters for his *Shōbō genzō*. Beginning in 1241 Ejō wrote out the final, corrected copies for the vast majority of these chapters. Even after Dōgen's death Ejō devoted all his literary efforts to recopying Dōgen's various writings, never producing any writings of his own.[27]

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[25]Ishikawa Rikizan, "'Shōbō genzō zuimonki' to Nihon Darumashū," *SG*, 24 (1982), 37-45; and "Ejō Zenji no denki to gyōseki," in *Eiheijishi*, ed. Sakurai Shūyū (Fukui Pref.: Dai Honzan Eiheiji, 1982), 1:175-82.

[26]See Appendix 1, "Chronology of Dōgen's writings."

[27]The *Kōmyōzō zanmai* (a medieval-period commentary on one *Shōbō genzō* chapter) was incorrectly attributed to Ejō by Menzan. See Ishikawa Rikizan, "Ejō Zenji no denki," 194-95.

In 1235 Dōgen composed a Chinese-language preface for another text that he also titled *Shōbō genzō*.[28] This other work is an anthology of 301 Zen encounter dialogues (i.e., *kōan*) primarily selected from the *Zongmen tongyaoji* (Jpn. *Shūmon tōyōshū;* 1133), a Zen history.[29] The origin and purpose of Dōgen's *kōan* anthology is obscure. We know that Dōgen used this Chinese-language *Shōbō genzō* as a source for a few of the quotations that appear in his other writings. Usually, however, Dōgen selected his Chinese quotations from other sources--even when commenting on an incident or dialogue that is included among these 301 *kōan*. In fact, Dōgen rarely quoted the *Zongmen tongyaoji* at all in his other works.[30] This discrepancy over source citations suggests that Dōgen exercised less control over the composition of the Chinese-language *Shōbō genzō* than his other works. Recently Yanagida Seizan suggested that this *kōan* collection originated among the Darumashū and

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[28]The prefix *"shinji"* usually is appended to distinquish this *Shōbō genzō* from Dōgen's Japanese-language work with the same title. The authenticity of the Chinese-language preface has been established only recently. See Kawamura Kōdō, "Shinji 'Shōbō genzō' no kenkyū: 'Shōbō genzō seiritsushi no kenkyū' no ikkan," pt. 1, *Kamazawa daigaku Bukkyō gakubu kenkyū kiyō* [abb. *"KBK"*], 31 (1973): 135-59, pt. 2, ibid., 32 (1974): 95-138, pt. 3, ibid., 33 (1975): 41-96, and pt. 4, ibid., 34 (1976): 64-98.

[29]Ishii Shūdō, "'Shūmon tōyōshū' to shinji 'Shōbō genzō': Shinji 'Shōbō genzō' no shutten no zenmenteki hosei," *SG*, 27 (1985): 58-65.

[30]The Chan history quoted most often by Dōgen is the *Jingde chuandenglu* (Jpn. *Keitoku dentōroku;* 1004), except for this Chinese-language *SBGZ* within which the *Chuandenglu* is quoted only 42 times while the *Tongyaoji* is quoted 129 times. In Dōgen's verse commentary on ninety *kōan* (his *Eihei juko*) the respective ratio is reversed, 27 to 13, and in his Japanese-language *SBGZ* the respective ratio is 64 to 3. For these figures, see Ishii, ibid.; and Kagamishima Genryū, "Dōgen Zenji no in'yō tōshi-goroku ni tsuite (shōzen): Shinji 'Shōbō genzō' wo shiten to shite," *KBK*, 45 (1987): 1.

was presented to Dōgen by Ejō at Fukakusa. In his view Dōgen's Japanese-language *Shōbō genzō* might well have developed (at least partially) in response to this gift from Ejō.[31] Another possibility has been raised by Kagamishima Genryū, namely, that the *Zongmen tongyaoji* could have been brought to Dōgen directly from China by his disciple Jakuen (Ch. Jiyuan; 1207-1299) who would have been unable to read Dōgen's Japanese-language essays. Dōgen might have selected the 301 *kōan* expressly for Jakuen.[32] Kagamishima's theory would explain why the medieval period saw the Chinese-language *Shōbō genzō* studied primarily among Jakuen's disciples.[33] We will return to this issue later.[34]

Dōgen's Zen community at Fukakusa managed its own affairs without any sectarian affiliation to the Buddhist establishment. Unlike Kenninji, the Fukakusa monks were unhampered by any requirements to conform to monastic norms imposed by Japanese tradition. But the price of this freedom was the loss of the financial security and protection that Kenninji enjoyed. Monks who joined Dōgen's community in effect cut themselves off from the traditional avenues to ecclesiastical fame and leadership. Dōgen's teachings appealed especially to the lower class of monks who lacked the luxury of devoting all their time to scholastic

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[31]Ishikawa Rikizan, "Ejō Zenji no denki," 202 n.10, citing Yanagida, "Tabū e no chōsen, 17--'Shōbō genzō' wa naze kana de kakareta ka," and "18--'Shōbō genzō' wo dō torare, rikai suru ka," *Chūgai nippō*, 22684 (1981:1:7), and 22685 (1981:1:10).

[32]Kagamishima Genryū, "Dōgen Zenji no in'yō (shōzen)," 1-17.

[33]Ishii Shūdō, "'Giun oshō goroku' no in'yō tenseki ni tsuite: Enbun ninenhon to Shinji 'Shōbō genzō' to no kankei wo chūshin ni to shite," in *Giun Zenji kenkyū*, ed. Kumagai Chūkō (Fukui Pref.: Sosan Sanshōkai, 1984), 78-90.

[34]See chapter 3 (Jakuen section) below.

study.[35] In the *Zuimonki*, Dōgen repeatedly exhorts his disciples to take pride in their poverty and to abandon worldly measures of success. Although they might lack status by Japanese standards, he told them, among the ranks of Chinese monks even the son of a prime minister wears tattered robes.[36] In his *Tenzo kyōkun* (Instructions for the Monastic Cook; 1237) Dōgen stressed that menial labor can be performed as Zen training and criticized the monks at Kenninji for relying upon servants.[37] These sermons gave Dōgen's impoverished followers religious justification and moral superiority over the rival Tendai temples.

Dōgen's initial lack of financial means did not prevent his community from requiring additional buildings. Without wealthy patrons, however, he was forced to solicit donations at large. In 1235 he began one collection campaign for the construction of a proper, Chinese-style monks' hall (*sōdō*).[38] This endeavor proved very successful. Within less than a year, on the day of the full moon during the tenth lunar month of 1236, Dōgen formally opened the new monks' hall and changed the name of his monastery to Kōshōji.[39] The new monks' hall established

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[35]Funaoka, *Zenshū no seiritsu*, 195-201.

[36]Sec. 6, in *Koten bungaku-81*, 412-14; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:480. For other passages in the *Zuimonki* glorifying poverty, see *Koten bungaku-81*, 318-21, 346-47, 361-63, 383-84, 390-92, 398-99, 416-17, 434; alt. *DZZ*, 2:420-21, 436-37, 446-47, 460-61, 465-66, 470-71, 482, 492-93.

[37]*DZZ*, 2:298-99, 300-1.

[38]Ejō, *Zuimonki*, 3, in *Koten bungaku-81*, 362; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:4447; and Dōgen, *Uji Kannon Dōriin sōdō kanjinsho* (1235:12), in Kenzei, *Eihei kaisan gogyōjō* [abb. *"Kenzeiki"*], copied 1552, recopied 1589 by Zuichō, in *Shohon taikō Eihei kaisan Dōgen Zenji gyōjō Kenzeiki* [abb. *"Shohon Kenzeiki"*], ed. Kawamura Kōdō (Tokyc: Taishūkan Shoten, 1975), 38-40. Unless noted otherwise all subsequent citations of the *Kenzeiki* are to this Zuichō copy.

[39]*Kōroku*, sec. 1, in *DZZ*, 2:7.

Kōshōji as the first Chinese-style, sectarian Zen monastery in Japan. This novel institution attracted considerable attention and reverence. The people of the capital had never before seen anything like the monks' hall with its wide platforms full of ascetics sitting in rapt meditation, neither moving nor chanting.[40] The new monastery soon acquired wealthy patrons from the capital. The aristocratic nun Shōgaku donated a lecture hall (*hattō*) for which the tonsured Guzeiin (a.k.a. Fujiwara Noriei) supplied the elevated lectern (*hōza*).[41] Earlier scholars assumed that these two benefactors were distant relatives of Dōgen, but it is doubtful if either had known Dōgen prior to the founding of the monks' hall at Kōshōji.[42] Rather they were probably among the religious nobles who visited Kōshōji to ascertain Dōgen's approach to Buddhism. From Ejō's *Zuimonki* we know of the presence of pious laymen who questioned Dōgen or who participated in the fortnightly precept recitation ceremonies.[43]

Dōgen's activities during the next few years are undocumented until the spring of 1241. That is when the Darumashū monk Ekan and his disciples came to Kōshōji.[44] Previously the Darumashū had managed only

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[40]Mujū Dōgyō, "Jiritsu zazen no koto."

[41]*Genso koun Tettsū san daison gyōjōki* [abb. *"Daison gyōjōki"*], in *Sōtōshū zensho* [abb. *"SZ"*], (1929-1935; rev. edn., Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1970-1975), 16, *Shiden*, 1:13b.

[42]Contrast Ōkubo Dōshū, *Shūtei zōho Dōgen Zenjiden no kenkyū* [abb. *"DZDKK"*], (1953; rev. and enl. edn., Tokyo: Chikama Shobō, 1966), 201-3, 208-11; and Nakaseko, *DZZ*, 288-92, 294-95.

[43]See, for example, secs. 1-2, in *Koten bungaku-81*, 322-23, 350; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:422, 439.

[44]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:16b.

a precarious existence. Ekan and his followers had taken refuge at Hajakuji (a.k.a. Namitsukidera) in rural Echizen after fleeing from the Tendai temple Myōrakuji (at Tōnomine in Yamato) in 1228. At that time Myōrakuji had been destroyed by monastic warriors associated with the Kōfukuji in Nara. While the Darumashū had not been the direct object of the Kōfukuji attack, as outsiders they were especially venerable. Probably the main Darumashū scattered in several smaller groups.[45] It is not clear why Ekan's group later abandoned their refuge at Hajakuji to join Dōgen. Certainly Ejō must have encouraged them. Also in Echizen they probably still worried over their lack of independent institutional status because Hajakuji technically remained a Tendai temple, obligated to the central Tendai establishment.[46] The name of only one of Ekan's followers (Gikai) is known with certainty, but the names of the other Darumashū-affiliated monks can be guessed at with reasonable accuracy. This is because the Darumashū followed the Chinese Buddhist practice of assigning the same syllables to the tonsure names of all members within the same generation (see figure 1).[47] As will be seen below, monks named with the Darumashū transmission-syllable "gi" would come to dominate Sōtō affairs immediately following Dōgen's death.

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[45]Takeuchi Michio, *Ejō Zenjiden*, 90-93.

[46]It is doubtful whether the Darumashū members had ever dominated Hajakuji affairs, as indicated by their abandonment of the temple to join Dōgen at Kōshōji and by the fact that Hajakuji remained a major center for Tendai devotional worship throughout the medieval period. See Nakaseko, *DZD*, 346-49; and Ishikawa Rikizan, "Echizen Hajakuji no yukue," *SG*, 28 (1986), 107-13.

[47]Regarding the naming conventions used by Zen monks, see Tamamura Takeji, "Zensō shōgō kō" (1941); rpt. in *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū*, 1:21-94.

FIGURE 1

THE DARUMASHŪ LINEAGE

Generation:	1	2	3	4	5
Transmission Syllable:		("kan")	"e"	"gi"	"shō/jō"
China:	*Japan:*				
Deguang	Nōnin	Kakuan	Ejō	Giun	
		Renchū	Eki	Giin	Shōyū
		Shōben	Ekan	Gikai	Jōkin (Keizan)
		Mukyū	Eshō	Gien	
		Jōkan	Egi	Gijun	
		Kanjin		Gison	
		Kanshō		Giun	

The arrival of the Darumashū coincides with one of the most active yet puzzling periods of Dōgen's career. In 1241 Ejō began his life-long devotion to copying Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō.* Dōgen's output of essays for the *Shōbō genzō* also increased dramatically. He had composed just seven essays during 1240. The following year saw ten new essays, with sixteen during the year after that, and twenty-three essays written during 1243 (see appendix 1). These Japanese-language essays take the form of technical expositions of passages selected from Chinese Chan literature. Often violating the rules of Chinese grammar, Dōgen eloquently dissects these passages to extract hidden layers of meanings. Dōgen quite possibly increased his production of these essays as part of his efforts to convert (or reeducate) Ekan and the other Darumashū monks.

During this same period, Dōgen also met with powerful patrons in the capital. He gained an audience at the Konoe mansion during the fourth lunar month of 1242 during which he boasted of his having introduced true Buddhism (i.e., sectarian Zen) to Japan.[48] The head of the Konoe family, Iezane (1179-1243), and his son Kanetsune (1210-1259) were two of the most powerful men in the court. Kanetsune had just stepped down from his position as imperial regent (*kanpaku*). Later that same year, Dōgen lectured on one of his *Shōbō genzō* chapters at the residence of Hatano Yoshishige (d.1258).[49] Hatano was a politically powerful, battle-scarred, one-eyed warrior who represented the Kamakura Shogunate in Kyoto as a member of the supervisory council at Rokuhara. No records mention when they first met, but probably it occurred when Dōgen still resided at Kenninji. Hatano would have heard of Dōgen's return to Kenninji because his Kyoto residence was near the temple. By 1242 he had become Dōgen's strongest patron. In all likelihood it was Hatano who arranged Dōgen's introduction to the Konoe. This connection is suggested by the fact that the Hatano family served as the warrior land stewards (*jitō*) overseeing the Konoe estates.[50] In the fourth month of 1243 Dōgen again lectured in the capital, this time at a small Tendai temple, the Rokuharamitsuji, located next to Kenninji.[51] In terms of political support, this sermon delivered so close to the rival Kenninji must have been the high point of Dōgen's career.

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[48] *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 42.

[49] *SBGZ*, "Zenki" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:205.

[50] Nakaseko, *DZD*, 277-78.

[51] *SBGZ*, "Ko Busshin" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:81.

The Move To Echizen

Three months later Dōgen abandoned Kōshōji to lead his disciples into the mountains of rural Echizen. Nowhere in his writings does Dōgen suggest what reasons might have led to this drastic change in venue. This move was not an endeavor undertaken lightly. Their journey probably required five days of hard travel. From Fukakusa they would have proceeded southeast around the tip of Lake Biwa and then journeyed almost due north through the great barrier at Arachi. From there they would have continued up the nineteen-hundred foot climb across the Tree Sprout Pass (Kinome Tōge) into Echizen.[52] The last document confirming their presence at Kōshōji is Ejō's colophon to his copy of one *Shōbō genzō* essay which is dated one day before the end of the summer training period, the fourteenth day of the seventh lunar month of 1243. The next extant colophon states that Dōgen lectured on another *Shōbō genzō* essay just sixteen days later (the first of the following intercalated month) while residing at Mt. Zenjihō in Echizen. Neither text mentions any relocation.[53]

Religious and political hostility might have contributed to Dōgen's decision to leave. One fourteenth-century collection of Tendai texts includes an entry stating that Dōgen had been forced out of Fukakusa by persecution.[54] According to this account, when Gosaga was

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[52]See Kuriyama Taion, *Sōjijishi* (1938; rpt., Yokohama: Sōtōshū Dai Honzan Sōjiji, 1980), 57.

[53]See *SBGZ* chaps. "Tsuki" and "Sankai yuishin," in *DZZ*, 1:209, 357.

[54]Kōsō, "Zenshū kyōke idō no koto," in *Keiran jūyōshū* (1311-1348), fasc. 2, in *T.*, 76:539c-40a.

the cloistered emperor (1246-1272) Dōgen was charged with preaching his own Buddhism at Gokurakuji and with slandering the scholar monks who practice Tendai. To defend himself Dōgen presented the throne with a tract titled *Gokoku shōbōgi* (Principles of True Buddhism for Protecting the State). The established prelates, however, rejected Dōgen's ideas as the self-centered approach of an *engaku* (Skt. *pratyekabuddha;* i.e., one who attains solitary enlightenment). The monks at Gokurakuji were beaten and Dōgen chased away.

This account accurately reveals the attitude of the Tendai establishment toward Dōgen. Yet its details lack credibility. Perhaps the discrepancies in dates resulted from simple miscalculation. Dōgen left Fukakusa three years before Gosaga retired, while Gosaga still reigned as emperor (1242-1246). Its reference to the *Gokoku shōbōgi*, however, presents greater difficulties. No such text presently exits. Moreover, neither Dōgen's writings nor any other Sōtō-related sources mention this title. Other tracts with similar titles (*gokoku* or *shōbō*-something) also have been attributed incorrectly to several monks of this period.[55] Likewise, collaborating references to any attack on Fukakusa cannot be found. We cannot explain why Dōgen's writings and the records of his disciples would omit even oblique mention of persecution or attacks if they actually had occurred. Instead we know that Dōgen's disciples at Kōshōji were able to conduct the ninety-day summer training period right up until the time they left. The steady pace of Dōgen's writing during 1243 also suggests that advance

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[55]Imaeda Aishin, "'Kōzen gokokuron,' 'Nippon Buppō chūkō ganron,' 'Kōzenki' kō," *Shigaku zasshi*, 94:8 (1985), 41-53; and "'Shōbōron' to 'Zoku shōbōron,'" *Nihon rekishi*, 419 (April 1983): 78-79.

preparations for the move must have smoothed the transition to Echizen. It is doubtful therefore whether Dōgen was physically chased away when he left Fukakusa.

Religious hostility within the capital toward Dōgen's version of Zen can be confirmed by examining the early history of Tōfukuji. This monastery was commissioned in 1236 by Kujō Michiie (1193-1252), the powerful government minister--and political rival of Konoe Iezane.[56] The site for Tōfukuji lay to the south-east of the capital, almost exactly halfway between Kōshōji and Kenninji. Tōfukuji, like Kōshōji, was built with a monks' hall for Zen meditation. When the monastery was completed in 1243 Michiie selected Enni Ben'en (1202-1280) to serve as the founding abbot. Enni, like Dōgen, had studied Chan for several years in China. From these facts one might easily assume that Michiie appeared ready to champion Zen in the capital, but such was not the case. Michiie also had strong ties to the Buddhist establishment. Tōfukuji was established, like Kenninji, as a Tendai temple with special halls for the performance of esoteric rituals. Michiie justified Tōfukuji's Tendai status in a document written a few years later. In listing his expectations for Tōfukuji, Michiie cited the same texts previously quoted by Eisai to equate both Zen and Shingon with Japanese Tendai. Then Michiie added an echo of Eisai's denunciation of the Darumashū:

> Recently those claiming to penetrate the principle have become known throughout the realm by teaching freedom to do evil (*aku muge*). All the [Buddhist] sects have been shocked and harmed. It must not be

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[56]Regarding the rivalry between Michiie and Iezane, see Nakaseko, *DZD*, 289-93.

[allowed]. They are like worms inside the lion eating the lion. Establishing their own sect harms their own sect.[57]

Michiie's complaint does not mention the Darumashū directly. Charges of antinomianism, however, constantly haunted the Darumashū ever since their teachings were first banned by the court in 1194. Half a century later the same charges were as potent as ever. In Michiie's remarks, moreover, it is possible to detect a hostility that would have applied to Dōgen as well. Clearly, any Buddhist groups outside of the control of the established sects were regarded as heretical outcasts. Claims for an independent, sectarian Zen would not be tolerated in the capital. Furthermore, the only Darumashū members still active near the capital were with Dōgen at Kōshōji. As the religious conditions at Tōfukuji became clear, Dōgen must have realized that his future independence could not be insured at Fukakusa.

Historians have focused on the external social circumstances that forced Dōgen to flee Fukakusa, but perhaps he also pursued his own objectives. This possibility is suggested by Dōgen's own statements. As early as 1231 in his *Bendōwa* Dōgen exhorted his Zen followers to live in the mountains among the crags and white rocks.[58] In 1240 Dōgen again praised mountains as the natural abode of all sages.[59] Personal connections also would have led Dōgen to Echizen. Ekan and his followers were seasoned veterans of the rural mountain temples. They

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[57]"Kōmyō hōji nyūdō zen kanpaku Michiiekō shobunjō" (1250), rpt. in Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, 3, *Chūseihen 2*, 110-15.

[58]*DZZ*, 1:745, alt. 1:762.

[59]*SBGZ*, "Sansuikyō" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:265.

possessed valuable first-hand knowledge of the area that would have assisted the Kōshōji community adapt to local conditions. Disciples such as Ekan, however, could not have directed Dōgen to Echizen on their own.[60] Instead, Dōgen's principal patrons provided the main incentives. Hatano Yoshishige, the warrior official in Kyoto, wanted Dōgen to move to Echizen.[61] Hatano's family domain lay in Echizen where Yoshishige supervised numerous estates. He offered Dōgen land, economic support and, most importantly, long-term stability and protection. Within a month of Dōgen's arrival, Yoshishige himself supervised the clearing of land inside his Shihi estate for Dōgen's new monastery.[62] Yoshishige's cousin Kakunen (a.k.a. Fujiwara Yoshiyasu; d.1286) also supported Dōgen's move to Echizen. Kakunen, like Yoshishige, was a warrior official residing in Kyoto. Although Kakunen's family was based in Ise, he also seems to have controlled estates in Echizen. In 1244 when Yoshishige built a lecture hall for Dōgen, Kakunen supplied a monks' hall.[63]

Never one for understatement, Dōgen called his new monastery Daibutsuji, the "Great Buddhist Temple."[64] At first it was anything but

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[60]See Nakaseko, *DZD*, 345-49.

[61]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:13b.

[62]*Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 46 (entry for 1243:int.7:17); and Nakaseko, *DZD*, 349-56. The guarantor (*honke*) of Shihi was known as the Saishōkōin. Various theories regarding the identity of the Saishōkōin have been advanced, but none of them stand up to scrutiny (Nakaseko, 337-45).

[63]*Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 46, 50, 53 (entries for 1243:int.7:17, 1244:7:18, 1244:11:3); and Nakaseko, *DZD*, 356-62.

[64]*Kōroku*, sec. 2, in *DZZ*, 2:30. The date of the founding of Daibutsuji is 1244:7:18.

great. Initial construction proceeded slowly. In 1245 when Dōgen conducted his first summer training session in Echizen, Daibutsuji comprised a couple of buildings and only a few monks. Dōgen encouraged his disciples by stating that the greatness of a monastery is determined by the strong resolve of its monks, not their number.[65] Probably many Kōshōji monks of lesser resolve had elected not to follow him into the wilderness.[66] Later that same year Dōgen again urged the monks to endure the lack of facilities and difficult living conditions at the monastery.[67] Yet Dōgen had great pride in his monastery and in its future potential. In 1246 he changed its name to Eiheiji, apparently a reference to the Eihei era (Ch. Yongping; 58-75) when Buddhism was introduced to China.[68] In his lecture on this occasion, Dōgen cited the legendary first words of the newborn Buddha: "Above Heaven and below heaven, I alone am to be revered." Then by way of explanation, he added: "Above heaven and below heaven, this spot is 'Eihei.'"[69] In other words, the enlightened practice for which the Buddha is revered can be found only at Eiheiji.

Dōgen's move to Echizen marked the beginning of his total economic dependence on the warrior class. Dōgen had lived all his

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[65]*Kōroku*, sec. 2, lec. 128, in *DZZ*, 2:30. Regarding the dates of Dōgen's lectures, see Itō Shūken, "'Eihei kōroku' setsuji nendai kō," *Komazawa daigaku Bukkyō gakubu ronshū* [abb. *"KBRS"*], 11 (1980): 171-97.

[66]See below (reference to Gijun) and *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 52.

[67]*Kōroku*, sec. 2, lec. 139, in *DZZ*, 2:35.

[68]The earliest example of this explanation for the name "Eiheiji" probably is Giun, *Echizen Eiheiji shōmei* (1327:8:24), in *SZ*, 15, *Kinseki burui*, 535.

[69]*Kōroku*, sec. 2, lec. 177, in *DZZ*, 2:46.

monastic life (except while in China) in a social milieu dominated by the aristocracy of the capital. Kōshōji began as a refuge from the control of the aristocratic clerics, but ultimately it too depended on the patronage (and tolerance) of the Kyoto nobles for survival. By moving to Echizen, Dōgen cast his lot with the lower-level, rural warrior class. Yoshishige, Kakunen, and the other warriors in Echizen were not wealthy by Kyoto standards. Nonetheless, they possessed the means to provide Dōgen with a Zen monastery far surpassing what could be built at Fukakusa. Some have suggested that Dōgen's move to Echizen was self defeating: it cut off all hope of patronage by either the court or the shogunate. In return, however, Dōgen gained security and religious freedom. Yet Dōgen's rural patrons were not without their demands. The onus of Dōgen's dependence on Yoshishige is demonstrated by Dōgen's trip to Kamakura in 1247. Later Sōtō tradition attempted to portray this excursion as Dōgen's ministry to the shogunate.[70] Dōgen, however, stated that he went at his patron's request. That patron was Yoshishige as demonstrated by the fact that the trip occurred shortly after he had been transferred from Kyoto to Kamakura.[71] When Dōgen returned to Eiheiji after an absence of seven and a half months, his disciples were furious. They accused Dogen of valuing his patron more than his monks.[72] This pattern of dependence on warrior patronage would have a decisive influence on the development of the future Japanese Sōtō

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[70]See, for example, *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 62.

[71]Nakaseko, *DZD*, 382-84. Nakaseko has demonstrated (pp. 380-96) that all the available evidence suggests that Dōgen went to Kamakura at Hatano Yoshishige's bidding, and not at the request of the shogunate.

[72]*Kōroku*, sec. 3, lec. 251, in *DZZ*, 2:63-64.

school.[73]

Dōgen's move to Echizen also marked a shift in many of the attitudes expressed in his *Shōbō genzō*. Instead of presenting Zen as the easy method open to all as in *Bendōwa*, there is an increased emphasis on the monastic life and outright denial of the possibility of enlightenment for laymen. Dōgen's teacher Rujing comes into new prominence, and the later essays assume a sectarian tone with increasingly caustic criticisms of other Chan masters. How one interprets the significance or implications of these shifts is largely determined by one's approach to Dōgen Zen.[74] The scholarly debate generally has followed sectarian lines. Rinzai-affiliated scholars have focused on apparent inconsistencies in Dōgen attitude toward Chinese masters of certain Rinzai (Linji) lineages as evidence of Dōgen's growing frustration with rival Rinzai-related groups (Kenninji, Tōfukuji, and the Darumashū) in Japan.[75] In contrast Sōtō-affiliated scholars have emphasized the overall consistency of Dōgen's thought and argued that his criticisms of Chinese masters represent valid ideological disagreements, not petty rivalries. In their view, the

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[73]Warrior patronage was far more determinative than so-called "Hakusan Tendai" (see below, chap. 5, sec. on Patterns of Regional Growth). Other sections that discuss warrior relations are found in chapters 3 (sec. on Jakuen), 4 (sec. on the founding of Sōjiji), and 5 (sec. on warrior patronage).

[74]For a detailed discussion of these issues see Bielefeldt, "Recarving the Dragon," 21-53.

[75]See Tamamura Takeji, "Eihei Dōgen no Rinzaishū ni taisuru kanjō" (1952), rpt. in *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū*, 3:139-50; Furuta Shōkin, "Kangen gannen wo sakai to suru Dōgen no shisō ni tsuite," in *Nihon Bukkyō shisōshi no sho mondai* (1964), rpt. Furuta Shōkin Chosakushū (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1981), 1:479-97; and Yanagida Seizan, "Dōgen to Rinzai," *Risō*, 513 (Feb. 1976): 74-89.

critics have not fully grappled with the complexity of the *Shōbō genzō* and its dialectical tensions.[76]

There is some truth in both of these views. Dōgen's style of exposition takes enigmatic Zen language to its most extreme forms. He delights in asserting the validity of both sides of contrary propositions.[77] Based on this principle Dōgen often criticized Chinese Chan masters not for what they said, but for having failed to also say the opposite. Dōgen criticized Linji Yixuan (Jpn. Rinzai Gigen; d.867) in particular on this point both in 1242 while at Fukakusa and in 1243 after moving to Echizen.[78] Yet Dōgen also praised a double statement by Linji in 1242 and again in 1244.[79] When these seemingly incompatible statements of praise and criticism are viewed within the context of Dōgen's reasoning, they reveal a logical consistency. In other cases Dōgen would praise one master while simultaneously criticizing his

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[76]See Nakaseko, *DZD*, 321-26; Itō Shūken, "'Shōbō genzō' ni mirareru Rinzai hihan," *SG*, 20 (1978): 127-32; and three articles by Kagamishima Genryū, (a) "Dōgen Zenji to Sōchō Zen," (b) "Tenkei Denson no shisō," both in *Dōgen Zenji to sono monryū* (Tokyo: Seishin Shobō, 1961), 8-27, 109-16; and (c) "'Nyojō goroku' to Dōgen Zenji," *KBK*, 41 (1983): 6.

[77]Dōgen explained this mutual validity as *"ippō wo shōsuru toki wa ippō wa kurashi"* (illuminating the one obscures the other; *SBGZ*, "Genjō kōan" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:7). In other words, the affirmation of any one thing necessarily affirms the totality of existence, outside of which no opposing reality possibly could exist. Seemingly contradictory statements can express the same absolute truth, because each represents the non-duality of existence.

[78]*SBGZ*, "Daigo" chap. (1242:1:28), and "Sesshin sesshō" chap. (1243), in *DZZ*, 1:83, 362.

[79]*SBGZ*, "Gyōji" chap. (1242:4:5), and "Hotsu mujōshin" chap. (1244:2:14), in *DZZ*, 1:136-37, 529. The "double statement" by Linji concerns his twofold approach to planting trees.

teacher or his successor.[80] Clearly these patterns cannot be reduced simply to a lineage paradigm. Yet the viciousness of Dōgen's later attacks leaves no doubt that he regarded himself as the good guy fighting the bad guys. Convinced that his teachings embodied not just one style of Zen but the only true Buddhism, Dōgen did not see his rivalries as petty. Indeed, in the hostile religious climate of the time they were a matter of life and death.

Regardless of the ultimate meaning of incongruities in the *Shōbō genzō*, we must not overlook another--perhaps more fundamental--change in Dōgen's teaching that followed his move to Echizen. After the founding of Daibutsuji in 1244 Dōgen's literary efforts were devoted to works in Chinese, not his Japanese-language *Shōbō genzō*. His formal compositions during this period mainly consist of commentaries on the codes (*shingi*) that define the unique features of Zen monasticism. Dōgen intended to reproduce in Echizen the same approach to Zen training that he had experienced in China. Toward this end, his commentaries emphasize the psychological aspects of each ritual rather than its outward form. He also included descriptions of rituals that he had learned firsthand in China even when they were omitted from the Chinese codes.[81] The vast majority of Dōgen's literary works from 1246 on, however, are transcriptions of the lectures on Zen *kōan* and daily events that he presented to his disciples at Eiheiji as part of the scheduled monastic rituals. These lectures were compiled into his Chinese-

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[80]Itō, "'Shōbō genzō' ni mirareru Rinzai hihan," 130-31.

[81]Kagamishima Genryū, "Dōgen Zenji to in'yō shingi," *SG*, 6 (1964): 17 n. 5. Also see below, chap. 3 (sec. on Gikai).

language *goroku* (recorded sayings), the first Zen *goroku* produced in Japan.

Dōgen's *goroku* has not attracted the attention it deserves. Perhaps this neglect is because at first glance the stiff Chinese seems less "Dōgen-like" than his innovative *Shōbō genzō*. Dōgen's thought, however, cannot be fully understood until his *goroku* has been analyzed and compared to his other writings. The use of Chinese did not inhibit Dōgen's unique, creative approach of the original texts upon which he commented. When necessary, he would alter the punctuation or word order to obtain his own interpretations.[82] Many times Dōgen's *goroku* commentary parallels his exposition on the same texts in his *Shōbō genzō*, but not always. For this reason comparative study of these two texts holds much promise for furthering our understanding of Dōgen Zen. Moreover his *goroku* reveals an invaluable portrait of Dōgen as a Zen master, presenting a living example of Zen for his disciples. Dōgen's *goroku* is especially important for studying the last eight years of his life. Almost no other writings can be dated to these final years. Yet as his other literary activities declined, the number of Dōgen's lectures increased dramatically. Between 1245 and 1246, for example, Dōgen's annual output jumped from just fifteen to seventy four. The lectures from this period comprise, therefore, a week-to-week journal of Dōgen's thoughts and activities. They represent Dōgen's mature teachings--the daily teachings that would have left the strongest impression on his disciples.

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[82]Kagamishima Genryū, "Eihei kōroku shōten shikan," *Komazawa daigaku kenkyū kiyō*, 14 (1956): 81-92.

Dōgen's teachings defined the Buddhism of the early Sōtō school. As befitting such a prolific writer, his teachings abound in complex subtleties, complementarities and troubling inconsistencies. Some of these will become issues in the analysis of medieval Sōtō that follows.[83] For now a general overview of Dōgen's teachings will provide a useful orientation for the later discussions.[84]

Their first main characteristic is Dōgen's emphasis on the legitimacy of Zen as the only true Buddhism--the only practice transmitted by a historical lineage of patriarchs and Buddhas. To practice true Buddhism one must join this legitimate lineage by studying under a true teacher. The legend of the exclusive patriarchate already had proven its potency as propaganda in China. Dōgen's emphasis on the necessity of a true teacher, however, reflected not only this Chan tradition but also the religious conditions of thirteenth-century Japan. Dōgen was just one of many outcast Buddhists who advocated a single, exclusive method of practice (*senju*). Against competition from the Buddhist establishment and from other outcast groups, Dōgen had to establish the legitimacy of his own teachings above all others--including all other types of meditation (or *zen*).[85] Dōgen asserted that he was the only true teacher in Japan because he had studied under the only true teacher in China. The sincerity of this conviction is beyond

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[83]See note 3 above.

[84]In addition to the many popular books available, more detailed discussions of Dōgen Zen can be found in Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals;* Kim, *Dōgen Kigen;* and LaFleur, ed., *Dōgen Studies.*

[85]On the issue of Zen legitimacy, see Funaoka, *Zenshū no seiritsu,* 154-60.

doubt. Herein lies the source of the strong self-confidence (or arrogance) found in Dōgen's writings. In his teacher, Rujing, Dōgen found a standard by which to measure the shortcomings of all others. According to Dōgen, only Rujing rejected the decrepit practices common to other Chinese masters. By citing this Rujing, he convinced his disciples that they too belonged to the only true tradition.

An analysis of the citations in Dōgen's writings clarifies many aspects of his relationship to Rujing. Dōgen cited Rujing by name more than any other Chan master. Most of these citations are faithful quotations from the *Rujinglu* (the record of Rujing's lectures compiled by his Chinese disciples), but about one-fourth derives from Dōgen's own memory or private notes.[86] Significantly, these unattested quotations contain all the crucial vocabulary and concepts in Dōgen Zen. The *Rujinglu* alone coveys nothing to distinguish Rujing from the other Chan masters of his day. The so-called decrepit practices that Rujing had rejected according to Dōgen appear with full acceptance in the *Rujinglu*. The differences between these two alternative images of Rujing are great enough to almost suggest that Rujing communicated a unique message to Dōgen alone. In fact Dōgen himself asserts as much. He claimed that of all Rujing's disciples only himself (Dōgen) possessed the ears to hear and the eyes to see the real Rujing.[87] In other words, Dōgen felt a particular sensitivity or receptivity to certain aspects of Rujing's personality that other monks lacked, perhaps because of differences in

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[86]Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen Zenji to in'yō kyōten-goroku kenkyū* (Tokyo: Mokujisha, 1965), 229-60; and "'Nyojō goroku' to Dōgen Zenji," 1-15.

[87]*SBGZ*, "Butsudō" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:380.

their national, social, or personal backgrounds.[88] Despite Dōgen's emphasis on Rujing, the *goroku* quoted most often in Dōgen's writings is that of Hongzhi Zhengjue (Jpn. Wanshi Shōgaku; 1091-1157).[89] Hongzhi was the Caodong (Jpn. Sōtō) patriarch most responsible for creating a distinctive Caodong style, usually identified as Silent-Reflection Chan.[90] It is axiomatic that Dōgen did not learn his Zen from books, but he derived much of his technical vocabulary from Hongzhi's writings. Failure to appreciate the importance of Hongzhi has hampered most of the scholarship on Dōgen's thought.[91]

Dōgen was extremely well-read in Chinese Chan literature and histories. He was the first Japanese to thoroughly master the arcane idiom of Chinese Chan. He quoted more than five-hundred eighty *kōan* in his writings. Obviously Dōgen drew on a wide range of sources for his

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[88]Kagamishima Genryū, "Nyojō to Dōgen," in *Dōgenzen to shisōteki kenkyū*, ed. Kurebayashi Kōdō (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1973), 270-71; rev. and retitled, "Nyojō Zenji no shisō no kenkyū," in *Tendō Nyojō Zenji no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1983), 123-26. The above remarks are based on Kagamishima's analysis (249-78; rpt. 105-33) of the relationship between "Rujing the critic" as portrayed by Dōgen and "Rujing the typical Chinese Chan master" as revealed in the *Rujinglu*.

[89]In Dōgen's writings, Rujing is cited by name forty-eight times to Hongzhi's mere twenty-two times. The total number of quotations from Hongzhi, however, amount to at least fifty-four. See Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen Zenji to in'yō kyōten*, 229-60.

[90]*Mozhao* (Jpn. *mokushō*) often appears in western works translated as "silent illumination." The ideograph for *zhao* usually does mean "to shine" or "to illuminate," but in Chinese Chan texts it usually carries the sense of "to reflect," as a mirror reflects an object (or the mind "responds to" objects of perception).

[91]For an important contribution on this topic, see Ishii Shūdō, "Sōdai Zenshūshi yori mitaru Dōgen Zen no ichi," *Nanto Bukkyō*, 39 (1977): 75-96; "Wanshi Shōgaku to Tendō Nyojō," in *Sōdai no shakai to shūkyō*, Sōdaishi Kenkyū Hōkoku, 2 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1985), 51-80; and *Sōdai Zenshūshi no kenkyū: Chūkoku Sōtōshū to Dōgen Zen*, Gakujutsu Sōsho: Zen Bukkyō (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppan, 1987).

understanding of Chan. For his image of Chan history, however, Dōgen relied mainly upon the biographies and legends in the *Jingde chuandenglu* (Jpn. *Keitoku dentōroku;* 1004).[92] The *Jingde chuandenglu* was the first of the "transmission of the lamp" annals published in China. It reports the words and actions of Indian and Chinese patriarchs from the seven prehistorical Buddhas down to the tenth century. The majority of its biographies concern the masters of the Tang-dynasty during the so-called golden age of Chan. Today most of the early history it records must be regarded as pious fiction, but for Dōgen it provided a standard for judging the legitimacy of Chan tradition and modes of expression. He usually criticized any contemporary Chan vocabulary and concepts not found in this text. For this reason Sōtō scholars describe Dōgen as a reformer who sought to revive the pure Chan of the Tang period. Even leaving aside the issue of defining "pure Chan," this characterization ignores the fact that the monastic rituals and cultic rites introduced by Dōgen were contemporary Song-dynasty practices.

The second major characteristic of Dōgen's teachings is his insistence that Zen meditation fully embodies the true Buddhism of the patriarchs. Throughout all of his works Dōgen asserted that Zen meditation is the dynamic actualization of enlightenment and liberation, the ultimate realization of reality, and the unsoiled action of Buddhahood itself. Dōgen repeatedly cited Rujing's (unattested) statement that:

> Sitting cross-legged is the truth of the ancient Buddhas. Zen meditation (*sanzen*) is *'shinjin datsuraku.'* There is no need for

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[92]See note 30 above and Kagamishima Genryū, "Dōgen Zenji no in'yō (shōzen)," 5.

> lighting incense, worshipful prostrations, concentrating on the Buddha [-name] (*nenbutsu*), [ritual] repentance, or chanting scripture. Just sit (*shikan taza*) and [you] have it.[93]

Modern interpretations of Dōgen Zen take this declaration as the beginning and the end of Dōgen's religion, the essence of his practice. According to this interpretation, Rujing ordered the abandonment of all traditional Buddhist practices other than just one distinctive type of Zen meditation known as *shikan taza* (just sitting).[94] From the context of Dōgen's writings, however, it is not at all clear that *"shikan taza"* should be read as a technical term.[95] The Japanese tradition (within which Dōgen was trained before going to China) recognized many systems of meditation, all of which made use of the above-mentioned rituals as part of the meditation process. Viewed from this perspective, Rujing's remark probably should be understood as stating that Zen meditation is merely sitting, unlike Tendai meditation which requires elaborate ritual performances.[96] Certainly Rujing and Dōgen engaged in all of these rituals outside of their periods of meditation. The key point in the above declaration, rather, lies in the assertion that Zen meditation is *shinjin datsuraku*, the actualization of enlightenment.

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[93] *Kōroku*, sec. 6, lec. 432, in *DZZ*, 2:109. Slightly different versions of this same statement also appear in ibid., sec. 4, lecs. 318, 337; sec. 6, lec. 424, sec. 9 (*Eihei juko*), nos. 85, 86 (*DZZ*, 2:77, 81, 107, 184-85); in *SBGZ*, "Gyōji" and "Zanmaiō zanmai" chaps. (*DZZ*, 1:158, 539); in *Bendōwa* (*DZZ*, 1:731, alt. 748-49); and in *Hōkyōki* (copied 1253 by Ejō, Zenkyūin Ms.), in *DZZ*, 2:377. All subsequent references to the *Hōkyōki* are to this Zenkyūin Ms.

[94] See, for example, Kurebayashi Kōdō, *Dōgen Zen no honryū* (Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 1980), 11-48.

[95] I was pleased to discover agreement on this question in Bielefeldt, *Dōgen's Manuals*, 159.

[96] Ikeda Rosan, "Dōgen Zenji no 'nissō denbō,'" *SG*, 25 (1983): 36-42, esp. 41.

Shinjin datsuraku (Ch. *shenxin tuoluo*) would be translated literally as "body and mind falling away." But literal translations of this phrase can be misleading, both from the standpoint of Chinese Chan tradition and from the hermeneutics of Dōgen's expression. Traditionally, the body and mind in this phrase refer back to the Buddhist concept of the dualistic relationship between subjective consciousness and the objective basis of our perceptions. This relationship defines our entire world of daily experience.[97] Equivalent Chan expressions for subject and object include "mind and dust" (*xinchen;* Jpn. *shinjin*) and "root and dust" (*genchen;* Jpn. *konjin*). The second half of this phrase, "falling away," refers to an energetic freedom or liberation. Chan synonyms for this enlightened activity include "solitarily stripping [away]" (*dutuo;* Jpn. *dokudatsu*) and "solitarily supporting" (*dujue;* Jpn. *dokkyaku*).

This discussion of Chan language is necessary because of a recent controversy over the origin of Dōgen's phraseology. The words *"shenxin tuoluo"* (body-mind falling away) have not been located in any Chinese Chan text. Hongzhi Zhengjue used the expression *"shenxin dutuo"* (body-mind solitarily stripping), while Rujing's *goroku* contains only the phrase *"xinchen tuoluo"* (mind-dust falling away). Takasaki Jikidō, the first scholar to draw attention to discrepancies between the phrases used by Rujing and Dōgen, proposed that Rujing understood meditation as the removal of defilement (dust) from the mind, but Dōgen misunderstood

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[97]Ishii Shūdō, "Wanshiroku no rekishiteki seikaku," pt. 3, "Shinjin datsuraku wo megutte," *SG*, 20 (1978): 95-102. The following discussion of Chan terminology is based on Ishii's interpretation.

Rujing's Chinese pronunciation.[98] Takasaki's interpretation is extremely unlikely. The literal translations of the phrases used by Hongzhi, Rujing, and Dōgen differ, but from a Chan perspective they all imply one's active participation in an enlightened, liberated reality. Yet Takasaki might be correct in supposing that Dōgen himself coined the phrase *shinjin datsuraku*. Dōgen took long quotations from the same lecture within which Hongzhi discussed *shenxin dutuo*, and Dōgen studied under Rujing.[99] It is possible that he combined words from the phrases used by these two masters. Ishii Shūdō has suggested that one reason Dōgen would have preferred his own expression was in order to convey a stronger nuance of physical interaction than can be found in the words of either Hongzhi or Rujing.[100]

For Dōgen, enlightenment is not a passive mental experience but an active realization that one performs and actualizes through the practice of Zen meditation. In other words, Zen meditation is the activity of liberating (*datsuraku*) our whole self and our whole world (*shinjin*). In the hermeneutics of Dōgen Zen, *shinjin datsuraku* also is read as the nominative assertion that *shinjin* itself is *datsuraku*. The world of our everyday, subjective experience itself is participation in the objective realm of enlightenment: a dynamic, infinite continuum of

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[98]See his "Mukyū no Butsugyō," in *Kobutsu no manabi: Dōgen*, Bukkyō no Shisō, 11 (Tokyo: Kadogawa Shoten, 1969), 48-52.

[99]Later biographies state that Dōgen attained enlightenment upon hearing Rujing say *"shinjin datsuraku."* In his own writings, however, Dōgen never mentioned the circumstances of his enlightenment or when he heard Rujing's statement. In fact, at one point Dōgen anounced his refusal to attribute his enlightenment to any particular event (see *Kōroku*, fasc. 2, lecture 167; in *DZZ*, 2:44).

[100]"Wanshiroku no rekishiteki seikaku," pt. 3, 99-101.

absolute reality.[101] *Shinjin datsuraku* is identified with the scriptural assertion that myriad, worldly phenomena are ultimate reality (*shohō jissō*).[102] From this perspective one also can assert that because Zen meditation is *shinjin datsuraku*, ultimate reality is Zen meditation. It is for this very reason that we must practice true Buddhism. Rather than being just a technique for attaining some spiritual goal, Zen meditation is the mystical expression of ultimate reality (*honshō myōshu*), the expression of our fundamental human nature (*jiko no shōtai*).[103] True Buddhism must be practiced not to attain future enlightenment, but as an expression of our inherent enlightenment.

The third major characteristic of Dōgen's teachings (and the last one to concern us here) is his emphasis on personal participation as the focal point of Buddhism. As stated in the previous paragraph, for Dōgen the soteriological issue lies not in how to attain enlightenment, but rather in how to give our inherent enlightenment full expression in daily life. This living enlightenment can be expressed only by doing it. The way of accomplishing this feat is simply to follow the traditional Zen routines that have been taught by the Buddhas

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[101]Sakai Tokugen, *Anjin shite nayame: Shōbō genzō 'Genjō kōan' teishō*, (Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 1985), 24.

[102]See, for example, Menzan Zuihō (1683-1769), *Eifuku Menzan oshō kōroku*, fasc. 17, in *SZ*, 7, *Goroku*, 3:623b-624a.

[103]For the occurrence of these terms, see *Bendōwa*, in *DZZ*, 2:737, alt. 755; and *Zuimonki*, sec. 3, in *Koten bungaku-81*, 375; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:455.

and patriarchs. Even a beginner who imitates these Buddhist forms for the first time fully embodies Buddhist enlightenment.[104] Dōgen said:

> In our school we attain it [i.e., enlightenment] with both body and mind. Of these two, if one uses his mind alone to consider Buddhism then he could pass through millions of eons or thousands of lifetimes without ever attaining it. But when one releases his mind, abandons knowledge and intellectual understanding then he attains it. . . . Therefore the attaining of the Way is properly attained through the body.[105]

Dōgen's focus on simple practice as opposed to scholastic achievement is what most clearly links his teachings to the other new Buddhist schools of the Kamakura period and to traditional mountain asceticism. His disciples learned Buddhism not through speculative reasoning, but by meditating in rural Echizen and observing the rituals of monastic life.

As mentioned before, monastic life with Dōgen included more than just single-minded sitting in meditation. Certainly Zen meditation provided the cornerstone monastic practice, but all rituals were to embody the same actualization of enlightenment realized in meditation. Many of these rituals involved laymen in forms of cultic worship not usually associated with Dōgen. For example, laymen regularly participated in the monthly precept recitation ceremonies conducted at Eiheiji. During this ritual, all the monks of the monastery jointly recite not only the precepts but also several short texts in praise of

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[104]*Bendōwa*, in *DZZ*, 2:737, alt. 755.

[105]*Zuimonki*, sec. 3, in *Koten bungaku-81*, 379; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:458.

the power of the precepts to subdue evil.[106] More than twenty laymen who participated in one precept recitation ceremony at Eiheiji in 1247 witnessed the appearance of multicolored clouds shinning out from the abbot's building (*hōjō*). The laymen were so awed by the experience that they wrote a pledge to always testify to the truth of its occurrence.[107] At Eiheiji Dōgen also introduced the public worship of the sixteen supernatural *rakan* (Skt. *arhat*) who protect Buddhism.[108] During one of these services in 1249 Dōgen witnessed the apparition of heavenly flowers.[109] On other occasions when Dōgen preached to laymen, gongs from a unearthly temple bell echoed through the valley and the fragrance of unknown incense filled the air.[110]

These miraculous experiences tell us that Dōgen possessed more than just a strong personality. For his patrons and disciples Dōgen's

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[106]For a complete description of the precept recitation ceremony (*fusatsu*), see *Tōkoku shingi*, comp. 1423 by Bonsei, fasc. 1, in *Jōsai daishi zenshū* [abb. *"JDZ"*] (1937; rev. and enl. edn., Tokyo: Yoyogi Shoin, 1967), 288-95. The *Tōkoku shingi* also is known by the title *"Keizan shingi."* Even though the entries in this text were written by Keizan, I avoid using that title because (1) the text was not compiled until 1423, and (2) "Tōkoku" refers Yōkōji, the only monastery where this code was used during the medieval period. As a whole, the *Tōkoku shingi* is very highly regarded as an accurate guide to the monastic practices taugth by Keizan. For more information on this text, see Kagamishima Genryū, "Shingi shijō ni okeru 'Keizan shingi' no igi" (1974), rpt. and rev. edn. in *Dōgen Zenji to sono shūhen*, 228 n. 8; and Yamahata Shōdō, "'Keizan shingi' no shahon ni tsuite," *SG*, 15 (1973): 194-207.

[107]*Goshiki saiunki* (1247:1:15) and *Goshikikō fushigi nikki* (1247:1:15), in *Komonjo*, nos. 1137-38, 2:191-93. Also see Ejō, *Eiheiji sanko ryōzuiki;* and *Ejō shōjōsha* (1267:9:22), in *Komonjo*, no. 10, 1:9.

[108]See his *Rakan kuyō shikimon*, in *DZZ*, 2:402-4.

[109]*Jūroku rakan genzuiki*, in *DZZ*, 2:399.

[110]Ejō, *Eiheiji sanko ryōzuiki;* and *Ejō shōjōsha* (1267:9:22), in *Komonjo*, no. 10, 1:9.

personal charisma stemed not just from his intellectual rhetoric but also from his great mystical power. Dōgen's teachings cannot be analyzed in full without also considering how his disciples understood the doctrines he proclaimed. These disciples included all the monks who studied directly under Dōgen even if they later inherited the Sōtō lineage through Dōgen's immediate dharma heirs (see fig. 2). Unlike modern scholars who must weigh through diverse, and sometimes contradictory writings, Dōgen's disciples learned directly from a single flesh-and-blood master. Ultimately we cannot know what aspects of Dōgen's personality and actions left the strongest impression on them. Yet before discussing development of medieval Sōtō, we must consider the effect of Dōgen's teachings on his disciples from the Darumashū.

Eisai had condemned the Darumashū in the strongest possible terms. The Darumashū monks lacked a proper lineage from China. In their emphasis on natural enlightenment, they rejected the Buddhist precepts against evil actions and knew nothing of the traditional Chan practices of meditation and monastic rituals. Eisai proclaimed that one should not talk to or even sit with such monks.[111] In spite of Eisai's admonition, Dōgen (the disciple of Eisai's disciple) accepted Darumashū monks into his community. Ejō came first, then Ekan and his followers. In retrospect, one can easily imagine a mutual attraction. The Darumashū had been attacked by Tendai clerics for their lack of precepts and denounced by Eisai for their illegitimacy. From Dōgen they gained precepts, lineage, and knowledge of Chinese-style Chan monastic practices. Dōgen taught that Zen was the proper expression of man's

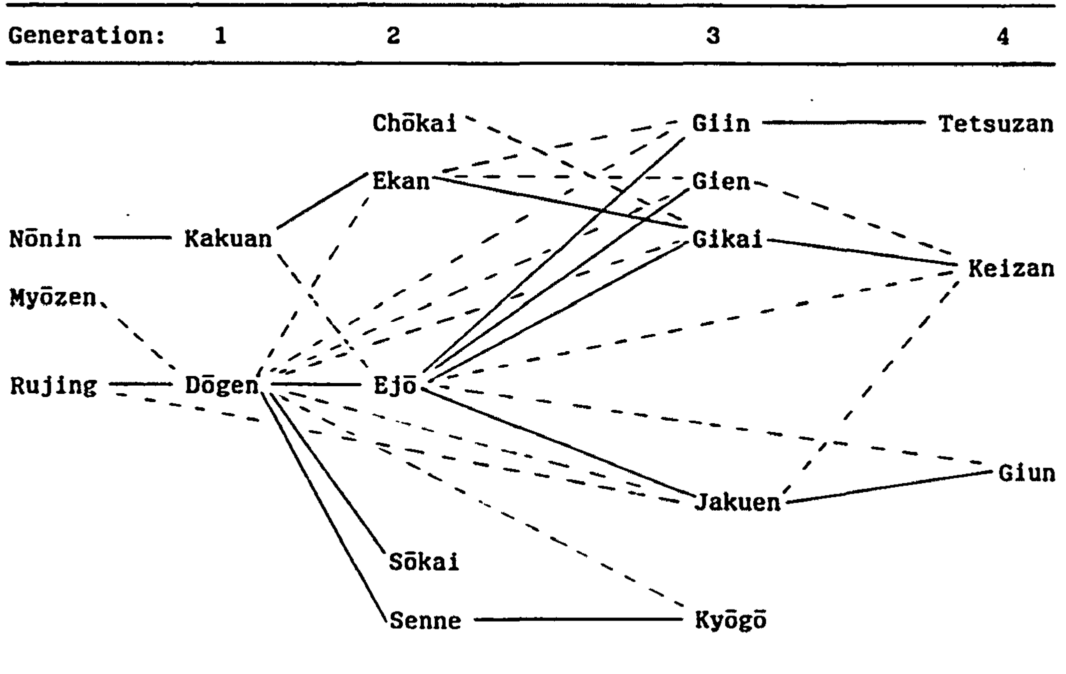
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[111] *Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 2, 41.

inherent enlightenment. In the Darumashū he found a ready-made following.

FIGURE 2

LINEAGES WITHIN THE EARLY JAPANESE SŌTŌ SCHOOL



Lineage Affiliations = Solid Lines (——)
Teaching Relationships = Broken Lines (- - -)

Yet mutual antagonisms also existed. Dōgen's emphasis on practice and ritual as the embodiment of Zen enlightenment differed greatly from the iconoclastic freedom advocated by the Darumashū. Ekan led his followers to Fukakusa, but each one would have had to conform to Dōgen's expectations through their own individual efforts. Many monks, no doubt, left instead. At least one Darumashū monk, Gijun, reportedly remained behind at Kōshōji when Dōgen moved to Echizen.[112] In 1248

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[112]*Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 52.

after Dōgen returned from Kamakura, an even more drastic incident occurred. A Darumashū monk named Genmyō and his companions were permanently expelled from Eiheiji. Reportedly, Dōgen went so far as to cut Genmyō's seat out of the meditation platform in the monks' hall to eliminate his contamination. No one had ever before seen Dōgen so enraged.[113] The exact details of Genmyō's transgression are not clear, but a general idea can be gleaned from a conversation between two other Darumashū monks, Ejō and Gikai, held about a year after Dōgen's death:

> Gikai: My Dharma comrades of past years, would say: "The Buddhist [expression], 'All Evil Refrain From Doing, All Good Reverently Perform' (*shoaku makusa shozen bugyō*), actually means that within [true] Buddhism all evil ultimately has been refrained and all activities are Buddhism. . . . Therefore merely lifting an arm or moving a leg--whatever one does, whatever phenomena one produces--all embody [true] Buddhism" . . .
>
> Ejō: In our master's [i.e., Dōgen's] community there were some who spread such heterodox views. That is why he cut off all contact with them while he was still alive. Clearly the reason he expelled them was because they held these false doctrines. Those who wish to honor the Buddhism [taught by] our master will not talk with or sit with such [heretics]. This was our master's final instructions.[114]

Evidently, Genmyō had insisted on reinterpreting the traditional precept against evil conduct from the standpoint of original enlightenment and the inherent nonduality of good and evil. And in the end, Dōgen had proved true to Eisai's admonition. Darumashū monks, such as Genmyō, who failed to take Dōgen's teachings to heart were not tolerated.

More significant than Dōgen's own expulsion of Genmyō is the effect of this action on his remaining disciples. When Genmyō and his

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[113]*Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 63-64; and Ōkubo, *DZDKK*, 276-78. The details of Genmyō's transgressions related in *Kenzeiki* are based on a singularly unlikely source, namely, Genmyō's ghost.

[114]*Eihei kaisan goyuigon kiroku* [abb. *"Goyuigon"*], entry dated 1255:1:6, copied 1752 by Menzan, in *SBGZST*, 20:824; alt. *DZZ*, 2:500-1.

companions were expelled, the monks who remained at Eiheiji knew that an invisible line had been drawn. Darumashū monks must reject their antinomianism. Ejō simply informed Gikai that the teachings learned from his Darumashū teachers were to be condemned, and Gikai had no choice but to agree.[115] The subtle legacy of the Darumashū on early Sōtō developments will remain mysterious. The above events demonstrate that some Darumashū monks never fully converted to Dōgen or accepted his religious authority. Yet the former Darumashū monks who came to dominate Eiheiji after Dōgen's death--Ejō, Gikai, and Gien--in their conscious minds at least had experienced a real religious conversion.[116] They had felt Dōgen's power, lived his Buddhism, and learned to honor his teachings.

By the middle of 1252, Dōgen's health had begun to decline quite rapidly. After ten months of lying in bed with no sign of improvement, it was decided that he should seek professional medical assistance in Kyoto. During the seventh lunar month of 1253, he finalized his affairs at Eiheiji and appointed Ejō to serve as abbot. Finally on the fifth day of the eighth month, Dōgen said farewell for the last time and left, carried by Ejō and his other disciples. Gikai accompanied them as only far as the border of Echizen. Yet by the time Dōgen reached Kyoto, it was already too late. He died at Kakunen's residence on the twenty-eighth day of that same month.[117] Dōgen's

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[115]See the discussion of Gikai's succession process in the next chapter.

[116]Kagamishima Genryū, "Ejō Zenji to Eisai Zenji" (1981), rpt. in *Dōgen to sono shūhen*, 35-57.

[117]For a detailed account of these events, see Nakaseko, *DZD*, 415-28.

passing away attracted little attention in the capital. In the eyes of the established Buddhist prelates he was a nobody. Yet in retrospect, Dōgen was the first successful Zen pioneer. At the time of his death, Eiheiji housed the only viable Zen sect in Japan. Other Zen teachers also had founded monasteries or introduced lineages from China, but no one else had secured an independent, sectarian institutional base.[118]

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[118]Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 55-57. By way of comparison, the first Chinese-style Zen monastery in Kamakura (Kenchōji) was founded in 1249 and completed in 1253. The first independent Zen monastery in Kyoto (Nanzenji) was founded in 1291.

CHAPTER 3

EARLY SCHISMS

The death of Dōgen presented the Eiheiji community with a loss from which it could not easily recover. Dōgen had been the community's source of authority and the spiritual center of its religious life. After Dōgen's death, his disciples faced the new task of directing their communal life without the external support of their master's supervision and guidance. Each one had to determine his own terms for expressing Dōgen's teachings, based upon his own internal inclinations, just as Dōgen had selectively chosen elements of Chinese Chan in accordance with his own religious personality. With the succession of Ejō to the abbotship, the community had to reconstitute itself and reappoint the monks who held monastic offices. Before the beginning of the following summer training session, all monks electing to remain at Eiheiji had to formally pledge allegiance to Ejō, acknowledging him as their new teacher. However, it is doubtful whether Ejō had the spiritual charisma and strong personality necessary to provide a new spiritual center for the community. Ejō's own dharma heir, Gikai, reported that some monks not only had doubted the legitimacy of Ejō's succession but also had slandered him.[1] Moreover, because Dōgen had not lived to see the completion of Eiheiji's full complement of buildings, his disciples, Ejō included, lacked detailed knowledge of many aspects of traditional

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[1] *Gikan fuhōjō* (1306), in *Komonjo*, no. 1405, 2:409.

Chinese Chan monastic life and practice.[2] Architectural design, proper use of facilities and prescribed etiquette all have to be learned directly from a living teacher. Without Dōgen, the community would have to remain incomplete until this knowledge could be acquired directly from China. Finally, in economic terms as well, the community had to rely upon the uncertain goodwill of patrons whose allegiance had been won on the strength of Dōgen's personality. No doubt, many monks sought a more secure life elsewhere.[3]

The death of Dōgen also marks the beginning of a major period of transition and growth. The ways in which Dōgen's disciples responded to the challenges mentioned above had profound influences both on subsequent institutional expansion and on doctrinal developments. By the time the last of Dōgen's surviving disciples had died, about sixty years after Dōgen's own death, the Eiheiji community had branched out into a total of five fairly independent groups. This development marked the emergence of the Japanese Sōtō school. These separate groups formed branch lineages centered around monasteries located not just in Echizen, but also in the neighboring province of Kaga, in Kyoto, and in distant

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[2]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:13b.

[3]Gijun (n.d.) is infamous as one of Dōgen's disciples who forsook his Sōtō Zen lineage. At Eiheiji, he served as monastic copyist (*shoki*). Gijun is counted as one of Ejō's dharma heirs, but eventually he converted to the Shingon school. A major collection of biographies of Japanese Shingon monks, the *Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōroku* (a.k.a. *Dentō kōroku;* sec. 2, fasc. 12) by Yūhō (1656-1727-?), reports that Gijun changed his name to Ginō, studied Rinzai Zen at Gozan temples in Kyoto, studied esoteric meditation and ritual at the Kongō Zanmaiin on Mt. Kōya, and then founded a Shingon temple dedicated to Amida Buddha, the Muryōjuin, in Harima (now part of Hyōgo Pref.). This account is substantiated by an early Sōtō biography of Ejō that claims that after Ejō died, his spirit came back to wreak vengeance upon the wayward Gijun, causing demons to torment him to death. See Ōkubo, *DZDKK*, 245-46; and *Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:16a.

Kyushu. Two of these five groups (those of Senne and Gien), the two that (today, at least) are most closely associated with the unique elements of Dōgen Zen, quickly died out. However, the three lineages that survived to constitute the Sōtō tradition in medieval Japan all diverged away from Dōgen's model. Significantly, the disciples beginning these three lines each had strong links to Song-dynasty Chinese Chan. For these disciples, the propagation of Dōgen's Zen necessitated the study and transmission of its Chinese origins. Furthermore, by leaving Eiheiji for other rural areas, these disciples gave added impetus to the subsequent linking of Sōtō practices to rural village life. Therefore, even though the roots of many later developments already are present in Dōgen's own teachings, the activities of his direct disciples were the catalyst that largely determined the direction these developments would take.

The importance of the events in this half century of transition often is matched by their obscurity. Many basic details are disputed or unknown. Early sources are either incomplete or untrustworthy. On the one hand, few primary documents survive, especially from the two lineages that died out. On the other hand, the extant documents and historical records often have been shaped by the chronic Zen tendency to emphasize the superiority of one's own lineage over all others. In addition to unconscious biases, chronicles written in later periods also occasionally reflect deliberate distortions that grew out of rivalries within and between different Sōtō lineages. This is especially the case among histories produced during the Tokugawa period when the Shogunate's forced unification of the Sōtō institutional hierarchy gave rise to many

conflicts between major monasteries.[4] Even documents written for sectarian purposes, however, often are based upon old traditions and convey many details with great accuracy. Moreover, conflicting accounts of the same event can be significant in themselves to the extent that they reveal the self-image of a particular lineage, the goals of an author in interpreting tradition, and the rivalries out of which these developed. Therefore a knowledge of the independent development of and mutual interactions of different Sōtō groups and lineages is essential for understanding Japanese Sōtō Zen history as a whole.

Medieval Sōtō Zen, as opposed to "Dōgen Zen," can be said to have begun with the assumption of leadership by the first generation that had not recieved direct instruction from Dōgen, the disciples of Dōgen's own disciples. In 1298, Keizan Jōkin inherited the abbotship of Daijōji (in Kaga; now part of Ishikawa Pref.). In 1301, Tetsuzan Shian (1246-1336) assumed the abbotship of Daijiji (in Higo; now Kumamoto Pref., Kyushu). In 1314, Giun (1253-1333) accepted the abbotship of Eiheiji. These medieval Sōtō monks were at once separated from and connected to Dōgen through the teachings and personalities of their own respective teachers. Those teachers, the subjects of this chapter, were: Giin (1217-1300) at Daijiji; Senne and Kyōgō at Yōkōan (later known as Yōkōji) in Kyoto; Gikai at Daijōji; Gien (d. ca.1313) at Eiheiji; and Jakuen at Hōkyōji in Echizen (see figure 2).

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[4]Despite questions as to their sectarian biases, the work of Tokugawa-period historians cannot be ignored. In particular, three works enjoy high reputation for the large amounts of original sources incorporated into their biographies: the *Nihon Tōjō rentōroku* (1727; pub. 1742) [abb. *"Rentōroku"*], 12 fascs., comp. Reinan Shūjo (1675-1752); the *Enpō dentōroku* (1678, i.e., the 6th year of the Enpō era), 41 fascs.; and the *Honchō kōsōden* (1702), 75 fascs., both by Mangen Shiban (1626-1710). Reinan's *Rentōroku*, contains useful supplements to each fascicle in which he explains his reasons for supporting one or the other version of disputed events.

Giin: The Beginnings of Higo Sōtō

Giin is the founder of the Higo (or Kyushu) branch of the Sōtō school.[5] This branch, centered at Giin's major monastery, Daijiji, developed into a major Sōtō faction active not only in Kyushu but also beginning in the fifteenth century in central Japan. Many of Giin's activities are subject to dispute. Questions regarding Giin's early career, dharma succession, study in China and relations to the imperial court are obscured by partisan claims made by the monks of Higo Sōtō in their conflicts with the Sōtō monasteries of central Japan. Based on precedents supposedly established by Giin, the monks at Daijiji had sought formal recognition of the independence of their own branch of Sōtō. This conflict lasted from the early sixteenth century until 1696, when the Tokugawa shogunate firmly ordered Daijiji to become a branch temple of Eiheiji.[6] None of the few extant biographies of Giin antedate this conflict. Therefore one biography, the *Ryakuden* (n.d.),[7] wildly exaggerates Giin's accomplishments, while biographers that rejected Daijiji's claims to special status attempted to prove contradictory accounts. These controversies no longer attract much partisanship,

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[5]Higo (modern Kumamoto Pref.) occupies the central region of the island of Kyushu. The appellation "Higo no Sōtō" had begun to be used within Giin's lineage by the early 16th century in order to assert independence from the large Sōtō monasteries located in the Hokuriku region (north central Honshu) of Japan. See *Daijiji saikō chokushosha* (1529), in *Komonjo*, no. 2116, 3:97. Giin's lineage also is referred to by Giin's honorary name, Kangan, or by his sobriquet, Hōō.

[6][Toda Tadamasa], *Edo bakufu jisha bugyō tōshi* (1696), in *Komonjo*, no. 1401, 2:403.

[7]Full title: *Higoshū Daijiji kaisan Kangan Zenji ryakuden* [abb. "*Ryakuden*"], in *SZ*, 17, *Shiden*, 2:259. This *Sōtōshū zensho* edn. is a reprint of the text appearing in the *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, ed., Hanawa Hokinoichi and Hanawa Tadatomi (1822; rpt. Tokyo: Keizai Zasshisha, 1905), 9:364-65, the origin of which is unknown. See *Gunsho kaidai* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1961), 4A, *Denbu*, no. 104, p. 139.

especially since Giin's documented activities are more significant. Only the question of Giin's dharma succession has remained a sensitive subject within the Sōtō school.[8]

One can only assume that there is no truth to the pious tradition that Giin was of imperial birth.[9] Although abbots of Daijiji later asserted that Giin had enjoyed a special relationship with the imperial court, there is no evidence of this. Likewise, Giin is assumed to have been among the Darumashū members who later switched to Dōgen, since the first syllable of his name, "gi," is the same as that of other Darumashū members. Giin, however, is not mentioned in any of Dōgen's writings. Details of his duties and training at Kōshōji and Eiheiji are completely unknown. Within his own line, Giin always has been regarded as one of Dōgen's direct dharma heirs. Giin himself seems to have given such an impression, since while in China he was referred to as Dōgen's disciple (Ch. *tu*), a word usually implying dharma succession.[10] Due to various sectarian rivalries with Daijiji, however, the main collected

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[8]Nakayama Jōni has noted the close connection between the issue of Daijiji's independence and shifts in published accounts of Giin's dharma succession. See his "Kangan Giin shishō isetsu wo meguru sho mondai," in *Zenshū no sho mondai*, ed. Imaeda Aishin (Tokyo: Yūsankaku, 1979), 247-52.

[9]Giin is variously reported to be the son of either (a) the Emperor Juntoku (1197-1242, r.1210-1221), or (b) Emperor Gotoba (1180-1239, r.1184-1198)--and thereby the brother of Juntoku. Nothing in his later career, however, suggests that he had any prestigious family connections. The earliest sources for each of these accounts are (a) *Ryakuden;* and (b) *Nichiiki Sōtō reiso gyōgōki* (1672) [abb. *"Reiso"*], comp. Ranzen Shun'yū (1613-1672), in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:30.

[10]Wuwai Yiyuan (Jpn. Mugai Gion, d.1266), Preface to *Eihei Gen Zenji goroku* (1264:5:1), in *SZ*, 2, *Shūgen*, 2:27.

biographies of Sōtō monks produced in the Tokugawa period all listed Giin as heir to Gikai.[11]

In opposition to both of these traditional accounts, in 1911 Kuriyama Taion suggested that Giin's true dharma teacher was Ejō.[12] This Ejō-heir theory, after having been championed by Ōkubo Dōshū, is now widely accepted.[13] Kuriyama's theory, as developed by Ōkubo, has several advantages over the previous claims of dharma succession through either Dōgen or Gikai. It is in better agreement with the known chronology of other related events. It is based on older sources, which antedate the expansion of Higo-Sōtō branch monasteries into central Japan. And its authors are not motivated by sectarian bias. Although all of the principal sources upon which this theory is based originated within Gikai's line, it is unlikely that deliberate distortion of Giin's succession would have been attempted in such early documents. Of the sources cited by Kuriyama and Ōkubo in support of the Ejō-heir theory, the three most convincing are summarized below.[14] (1) An early and

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[11]The earliest biography to make this claim is *Reiso* (1672), in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:30.b. Also see Nakayama, "Kangan Giin shishō isetsu," 247-52.

[12]"Kangan Zenji no shishō isetsu," in *Gakusan shiron* (1911; rpt., Yokohama: Sōtōshū Dai Honzan Sōjiji, 1980), 228-50.

[13]Ōkubo Dōshū, "Kangan Giin no shishō iron," in *DZDKK*, 447-68.

[14]In addition to these three sources, Kuriyama also cites several Tokugawa-period compilations, such as the *Sōjiji kyūki* (n.d.), that repeat earlier accounts, while Ōkubo relies most heavily upon the *Goyuigon*. This text, in which Gikai supposedly recorded the details of the procedures by which he formally inherited Ejō's dharma line, is especially significant, according to Ōkubo, because (a) the extant version claims to be based upon an edition originally copied by Giin himself, and because (b) the *Goyuigon* reports Ejō as claiming that he alone received formal transmission from Dōgen. Ōkubo is correct in arguing that Giin's copying of Ejō's claim would amount to an admission that only Ejō and not Giin had inherited Dōgen's dharma. Even leaving aside questions as to the accuracy of these statements in the *Goyuigon*, however, Ōkubo failed to realize the full implications of an uncritical acceptance of the purported history of this text. Because the *Goyuigon*

reliable history, the *Daison gyōjōki* (and its variant edition, the *Sanso gyōgōki*) lists Giin as one of Ejō's direct dharma successors.[15] (2) A lineage chart bequeathed in 1445 by Shūkō, the fourth abbot of Gidaiji (originally in Kaga), also lists Giin as one of Ejō's successors.[16] In spite of this document's late date, it is significant as a representation of the oral tradition of Gidaiji, a temple founded by Daichi (1290-1366). Daichi must have been well informed about Giin because Daichi took his first Buddhist vows under Giin and studied under one of Giin's dharma heirs, Shakuun. (3) Indirect evidence also is provided by a text that explains the procedures for precept ordination, the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*. This text exists as a duplicate signed by Giin's disciple, Shakuun, that was copied from an original that Giin had received from Ejō in the ninth month of 1254, more than a year after Dōgen's death.[17] Without knowledge of these procedures Giin would have been unable to independently acquire his own disciples. While instruction in precept ordination ceremonial cannot directly be equated with dharma transmission, nonetheless, this document

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is a manual of dharma transmission procedures as recorded by Gikai, its possession by Giin logically would suggest that Giin had inherited his lineage from Gikai, not from Ejō. See Ōkubo, *DZDKK*, 464-65; and *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1255:1:3 and postscript dated 1326:10:12, in *SBGZST*, 20:823, 829; alt. *DZZ*, 2:500, 506-7.

[15]*SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:15-16 and 1:5-6. The *Sanso gyōgōki* also is known as the *Eiheiji sanso gyōgōki*. While the *Daison gyōjōki* is the more reliable of the two versions, both have a high reputation for reliability within and outside of the Sōtō school.

[16]Shūkō, *Shūkō oshō yuzurijō*, a.k.a. *Sōtōshū hōmyaku kefu* (1445:9:9), in *Komonjo*, no. 787, 1:609-10.

[17]Ejō, Postscript (1254:9:9), *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, copied 1335:6:12 by Daichi, Kōfukuji D, in *Zoku Sōtōshū zensho* [abb. "*ZSZ*"] (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1974-1977), 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 42, alt. *DZZ*, 2:270.

demonstrates that a crucial element in Giin's training had been provided by Ejō.

Compared to the controversies over Giin's dharma succession, there is even less agreement regarding his training in China. According to the *Ryakuden*, Giin traveled to Song China in 1253 (the year of Dōgen's death), and spent four years studying under Dōgen's former teacher, Rujing, before returning to Japan. There are, however, several difficulties with this account. Giin was still at Eiheiji as of 1254 when Ejō taught him the precept ceremonies, and Rujing had already passed away in 1228 even before Giin had begun studying under Dōgen. Furthermore, from the eulogies for Dōgen's *goroku* that were obtained by Giin from Chinese monks, it is clear that Giin was in China between 1264-1265.[18] Later biographers of Giin have made ingenious attempts to reconcile these discrepancies. Ranzen Shun'yū (1613-1672), aware that Rujing had died earlier than Dōgen, but not knowing the exact year, proposed that Giin had begun his study with Rujing ten years earlier than stated by the *Ryakuden*, in 1243. Then according to Shun'yū, Giin later made a second trip to China during which he collected the eulogies to be attached to Dōgen's recorded sayings.[19] This version is repeated in the biography by Tangen Jichō (d. 1699).[20] The next major biographer, Teinan Shūjo (1675-1752), rejected the supposed encounter with Rujing all together, while accepting the idea of two trips to

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[18]Preface and eulogy by Wuwai Yiyuan, dated 1264:11:1, and eulogies by Xutang Zhiyu (Jpn. Kidō Chigu, 1185-1269) and Tuigeng Dening (Jpn. Taikō Tokunei), dated the third and fourth (*qingming*) months of 1265, to the *Eihei Gen Zenji goroku*, in *SZ*, 2, *Shūgen*, 2:27, 42.

[19]*Reiso*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:31.

[20]*Nichiiki Tōjō sho soden* [abb. *"Nichiiki"*] (1694), comp. Tangen Jishō, fasc. 1, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:43-44.

China. According to Shūjo, Giin first went to China in 1253, but suddenly returned to Japan in time to study ordination ceremonies under Ejō in 1254 and then went to China again in 1264 for four years of study.[21] Although Shūjo's version is widely repeated in secondary sources, there is little reason to believe that Giin went to China in either 1243 or 1253, nor that he made more than one trip.[22] Passage between Japan and China was expensive, time consuming, and difficult to arrange. Moreover, if Giin had already returned from China by 1254, then there would have been little reason for Gikai to have made his trip five years later in 1259.

Details of Giin's training in China are unavailable. To request the authorship of a preface to Dōgen's recorded sayings, he sought out one of Rujing's major disciples, Wuwai Yiyuan (Jpn. Mugai Gion, d. 1266), who had been the principal compiler of Rujing's *goroku*. Yiyuan had become abbot only of a relatively minor temple, Kaishansi (Jpn. Kaizenji), typical of Caodong monks who lacked the political connections necessary for appointment to major Chinese Chan monasteries.[23] Other than Yiyuan, Giin seems to have associated mainly with monks of Linji lineage. He also obtained eulogies for Dōgen's recorded sayings from two leading Linji masters, Xutang Zhiyu (Jpn. Kidō Chigu, 1185-1269) and Tuigeng Dening (Jpn. Taikō Tokunei). At that

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[21]*Rentōroku*, fasc. 2, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:243-44.

[22]Mangen Shiban correctly lists only one trip to China. See *Enpō dentōroku*, fasc. 7, in *ZSZ*, 10, *Shiden*, 680.

[23]The Kaishansi (a.k.a. Ruiyansi; Jpn. Zuiganji) is located on Mt. Ruiyan (Jpn. Zuigan), in the modern prefecture of Dinghai, Zhejiang Province. The monopolization of appointments to state-sponsored temples by members of the Dahui-Linji line is discussed by Tamamura, *Gozan bungaku*, 38-39.

time, both Zhiyu and Dening were abbots of major state-sponsored *Wushan* monasteries.[24] At these temples Giin acquired a rich knowledge of the many Chinese Chan practices that had been rejected by Dōgen as well as the friendship of many Rinzai monks. Because of these friendships, when Giin returned to Japan, he had no difficulty taking up residence at the Shōfukuji, a Rinzai temple in Kyushu that had been founded by Eisai.

In Kyushu, Giin soon formed a close relationship with Kawajiri Yasuaki, a low-ranked local warrior. Yasuaki, in addition to managing his family's own land holdings, also served as the chief record keeper (*sō kumon*) at the Shinzō estate (*shōen*) in central Kyushu, the guarantor (*honke*) of which was the Saishōkōin.[25] Although the Saishōkōin has been variously identified as a sub-temple of several different Tendai or Shingon monasteries, its true affiliation remains unclear.[26] What is significant, however, is that the Saishōkōin also was the guarantor of the Shihi estate at which Eiheiji had been built. Likewise, the military steward (*jitō*) at the Shinzō estate in Kyushu was a blood relative of the same Hatano family that served as the principal patrons of Eiheiji. Therefore, Giin's relationship with Kawajiri Yasuaki probably developed out of introductions arranged through these connections. The relationship was very fruitful for Giin. In 1269, Yasuaki sponsored the building of Giin's first temple, Nyoraiji, although nominally the founding sponsor was listed as Yasuaki's

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[24]Yutang was abbot at the Jincisi and Tuigeng was abbot at the Lingyinsi (Jpn. Reiinji or Rinninji), both of which are located near the city of Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province.

[25]Information in this paragraph regarding the Shinzō estate is from Nakaseko Shōdō, "Daijiji no danna ni tsuite," *SG*, 26 (1984): 24-29.

[26]Nakaseko, *DZD*, 337-45.

daughter, known by her Buddhist name of Somyō.[27] And in 1282 Yasuaki sponsored the building of Daijiji, the monastery that soon became the center of Higo Sōtō faction.[28]

Giin's Buddhism was characterized by its broad basis of support among many classes of people. Giin himself when he first went to Higo is said to have lived among the common villagers as a true mendicant, possessing no more than one robe, one begging bowl.[29] In 1276, when Giin began raising money in order to build a bridge over the Midori river, he addressed an open appeal for support to the nobility and the warrior classes, other monks and common laymen. Giin's bridge-building project fulfilled a popular need. Every year numerous travelers, both rich and poor, had lost their lives attempting to cross the river. Moreover, Giin expressed his appeal in simple terms, identifying it with the Buddhist metaphor of helping the suffering to reach the "other shore [of salvation]."[30] There is no record of all the local contributors to Giin's bridge project. From the size of the bridge that was completed in 1278 (said to have been about sixteen *shaku* wide and nearly 600 *shaku* long), the construction must have required numerous supporters in

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[27]Nyoraiji is located in Udo-gun, Kumamoto Prefecture. Regarding the family relationship between Kawajiri Yasuaki and the nun Somyō, see Tajima Hakudō, *Sōtōshū nisōshi* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Nisōdan Honbu, 1955), 175-77.

[28]Kawajiri Minamoto Yasuaki, *Minamoto Yasuaki kishin jōan* (1282:10:8), in *Komonjo*, no. 1374, 2:388-90. Daijiji is located within the present city of Kumamoto.

[29]*Ryakuden*, in *SZ*, 17, *Shiden*, 2:259.

[30]Giin, *Ō hashi kan'ensho* (1276:5), in *Komonjo*, no. 1372, 2:386-87. In other schools of Japanese Buddhism the character for "kan" in *kan'en* normally would be written with a homophonic character meaning "to encourage" instead of the Zen usage of the character for "tree trunk."

addition to Yasuaki.[31] A much smaller project, the casting of a bronze bell for Daijiji in 1287, elicited financial support from more than one hundred "patrons at large" (*jippō danna*), and material contributions from nearly three hundred laymen, as well as the efforts of thirty monks and thirty nuns.[32] Giin's ability to attract contributions from the general populace for these and other minor construction projects contrasts significantly with the general dependency of other early Zen monasteries upon the support of a single powerful patron.

A second major characteristic of Giin's Buddhism was its ready support of secular political powers. While Dōgen had admitted to the belief that the ruling powers would prosper if Buddhism flourished, he had firmly rejected any overt identification of Buddhism with the secular aims of the state.[33] In contrast to his teacher, Giin promoted the traditional use of Buddhism as a symbol of secular power. Giin, in soliciting support for the bridge construction, argued that the successful completion of the project would cause:

> the Buddha-sun and the king-sun to shine together forever, the winds of compassion [i.e., Buddhism] and the winds of virtue [i.e., government] to sweep the world together for thousands of generations.

He further asserted that the bridge building would demonstrate the virtue of the government and cause it to be admired for its fearless

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[31]I am applying the modern ratios of one *jō* equalling ten *shaku* and one *hiro* equalling six *shaku*. Although the modern *shaku* is roughly equivalent to one foot in length, the exact values and ratios of the units as used in Higo during the late thirteenth century are unknown. For the dimensions of the bridge, see Giin, *Ō hashi kuyō sōki* (1278:7:30), in *Komonjo*, no. 1373, 2:388.

[32]Giin, *Higo Daijiji shōmei* (1287:4:7), Daijiji temple bell inscription, in *SZ*, 15, *Kinseki bunrui*, 537.

[33]Mizuno Hakuryū, "Dōgen Zenji ni okeru kokka to shūkyō" (1972); rpt. in *Dōgen*, 309-22, esp. 318-20.

power that could just as easily pacify unruly barbarians.[34] Giin likewise commemorated the completion of the bridge in 1278 with a three day religious service dedicated to the peaceful governing of the realm.[35] Giin's support of the state is best summed up by his inscription for Daijiji's bell cast in 1287:

> Ten-thousand years [of long life] for the emperor, one-thousand years [of long life] for the *shōgun;* may they hear the ringing [of this bell] in peace and happiness, and see their rule pervade [the realm].[36]

The final characteristic of Giin's Buddhism was its eclecticism. On the one hand, Giin was firmly committed to propagating Zen. Both Nyoraiji and Daijiji were built in the Zen style with central images of Śākyamuni (instead of one of the more popular devotional divinities). At age seventy-five, Giin, in an eloquent vow to save all sentient beings, referred to himself as a sincere student of Zen, guided only by the "Complete Essentials of the Correct Teaching" (*shōbō genzō*).[37] And Giin's disciples were thoroughly trained in the special monastic ceremonies unique to the Zen school as well as the vocabulary of Zen doctrines.[38] Yet on the other hand, Giin also endorsed practices

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[34]Giin, *Ō hashi kan'ensho*, in *Komonjo*, 2:387.

[35]Giin, *Ō hashi kuyō sōki*, in *Komonjo*, 2:388.

[36]Giin, *Higo Daijiji shōmei*, in *SZ*, 15, *Kinseki bunrui*, 536.

[37]Giin, *Kangan Giin Zenji ganmon* (1293), in *ZSZ*, 9, *Hōgo*, 1. In this context, the words *"shōbō genzō"* allude both to the essence of Zen Buddhism and to its correct transmission.

[38]A prime example of the observance of Zen ritual at Daijiji would be the formal reception staged when Giin's dharma heir Ninnō Jōki (d.1364) became abbot. As recorded in the *Rentōroku* (fasc. 2), Jōki performed a ceremonial tour of the monastic buildings, briefly stopping at each to state a few words on its significance as prescribed in traditional Zen codes, such as the *Chanyuan qinggui* (Jpn. *Zennen shingi*, 1103; rpt. 1202; fasc. 7, "Zunsu ruyuan"; Jpn. "Sonshuku nyūin"). Arriving at the abbot's quarters, Jōki answered a monk's complex series of questions regarding the Zen doctrine of the Five Ranks (*goi*). See *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:248-49; and *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, ed. Kagamishima

associated with more traditional Japanese Buddhism. For the many nuns who studied under him, Giin encouraged devotional piety. To the novice nun Senshin, he gave *shari* (relics representing the essence of the Buddha's physical body).[39] Another nun, Jōa, was instructed to copy the *Hokekyō* (Lotus Sūtra), a task for which she also erected a commemorative pillar at Daijiji.[40] Giin himself commemorated the completion of the bridge by organizing an elaborate religious ceremony in which one thousand monks and nuns reportedly participated.[41] For three days the monks performed an elaborate confession and penance ritual, *Hokke senbō*, a key ceremony of the Tendai school. Penance rituals traditionally were widely practiced in state sponsored temples in order to eliminate possible ill effects of the ruler's misdeeds and to attract good fortune for the state. Moreover, during this same-three day period, the monks continually recited sections from six different sūtras, including many texts not used in Zen rituals, such as the *Kegonkyō* (Flower Garland sūtra) and the *Daijikkyō* (a composite of several sūtras). In all appearances this ritual was the same as one performed within the older established schools of Japanese Buddhism.

Therefore, it is doubtful that Kawajiri Yasuaki, Giin's principal sponsor, had any true understanding of or appreciation for the differences that distinguished Zen from other schools of Japanese

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Genryū et al. (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1972), 255-57.

[39]Giin, *Busshari sōden* (1279:11:1), in *Komonjo*, no. 667, 1:525-26.

[40]Jōa, *Higo Daijiji Hokke shosha sekitōmei* (1297:int.10:18), in *SZ*, 15, *Kinseki bunrui*, 537.

[41]Giin, *Ō hashi kuyō sōki*, in *Komonjo*, 2:388.

Buddhism. Rather than any strong interest in Zen practice, and apart from any personal charisma that Giin might have possessed, there are three main reasons for Yasuaki's financial support of Giin's new religious establishment. The most basic one would be simple Buddhist piety, founded upon a desire to obtain the spiritual and material benefits associated with general Buddhist worship. For example, Yasuaki, in 1284, donated additional land to Daijiji partially in reward for its monks daily recitations of the *Hokekyō* and *Dai hannyakyō* as prayers (*kitō*) for his benefit.[42] Likewise, Giin's inscription for the Daijiji's bell cast in 1287 includes a prayer for Yasuaki's wealth, good fortune and long life.[43] For Yasuaki, having prestigious monks at a large monastery pay public obeisance to himself would be a powerful symbol of his own stature and authority. In these respects Daijiji provided religious functions common to the many other family temples (*ujidera*) being erected by regionally-based warrior groups at that time.[44] By supporting Giin in particular, Yasuaki gained prestige through association with the fame generated by Giin's successful completion of the bridge across the Midori river. That construction was considered important enough to attract the attention of the Shōgunate in

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[42]Kawajiri Minamoto Yasuaki, *Minamoto Yasuaki kishin jōan* (1284:10:13), in *Komonjo*, no. 1375, 2:390-91.

[43]Giin, *Higo Daijiji shōmei*, in *SZ*, 15, *Kinseki bunrui*, 536-37.

[44]Surveying the numerous *ujidera* built by the emerging regional warrior groups in the Kamakura period, Kawai Masaharu detects a shift beginning in the late thirteenth century (the same period as when Daijiji was built) away from the patronage of devotional temples associated with local folk worship toward the building of Pure Land or Zen-related temples. See his "Chūsei bushidan no ujigami ujidera" (1958), rpt. in *Chiiki shakai to shūkyō no shiteki kenkyū*, ed. Ogura Toyofumi (Tokyo: Yanagihara Shoten, 1963), 7-9.

Kamakura.[45] Therefore, it is no mere coincidence that Yasuaki began building Daijiji for Giin shortly after the bridge was completed. In donating land to Daijiji, Yasuaki repeatedly refers to Giin as the organizer of the bridge project.[46] In addition to his own piety and Giin's fame as a bridge builder, in a larger political context, another reason for Yasuaki to sponsor the building of a Zen temple would have been to express unity with the Hōjō regents in Kamakura who were actively promoting Zen among their own followers.[47] This supposition is supported by the fact that upon news of the death of Hōjō Tokimune (1251-1284), who had sponsored the building of the Kamakura Zen temple Engakuji in 1282, Yasuaki again donated additional land to Daijiji as pious expression of Yasuaki's hope that Tokimune attain enlightenment in his next life.[48]

Daijiji remained the center of the Higo Sōtō branch until the beginning of the Tokugawa period. In 1298, Giin had appointed his disciple Shidō Shōyū to succeed him as the second abbot of Daijiji.[49] However, when Shōyū died in 1301, only one year after Giin, the future of Daijiji was in doubt. To decide who would become the next abbot, a poetry contest was held among the Daijiji community. Tetsuzan Shian won acceptance by the Daijiji monks with a poem proclaiming that only Giin's

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[45][Hōjō Noritoki], *Kamakura Shōgunke okyō jōan* (1287), in *Komonjo*, no. 1378, 2:391-92.

[46]Kawajiri Minamoto Yasuaki, *Minamoto Yasuaki kishin jōan* (1282:10:8, 1284:10:13), in *Komonjo*, nos. 1374-75, 2:388-91.

[47]Kawai Masaharu, *Chūsei buke shakai no kenkyū*, Nihon Shigaku Kenkyū Sōsho (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1978), 114.

[48]Kawajiri Minamoto Yasuaki, *Minamoto Yasuaki kishin jōan* (1286:6:14), in *Komonjo*, no. 1376, 2:391.

[49]*Rentōroku*, fasc. 2, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:247.

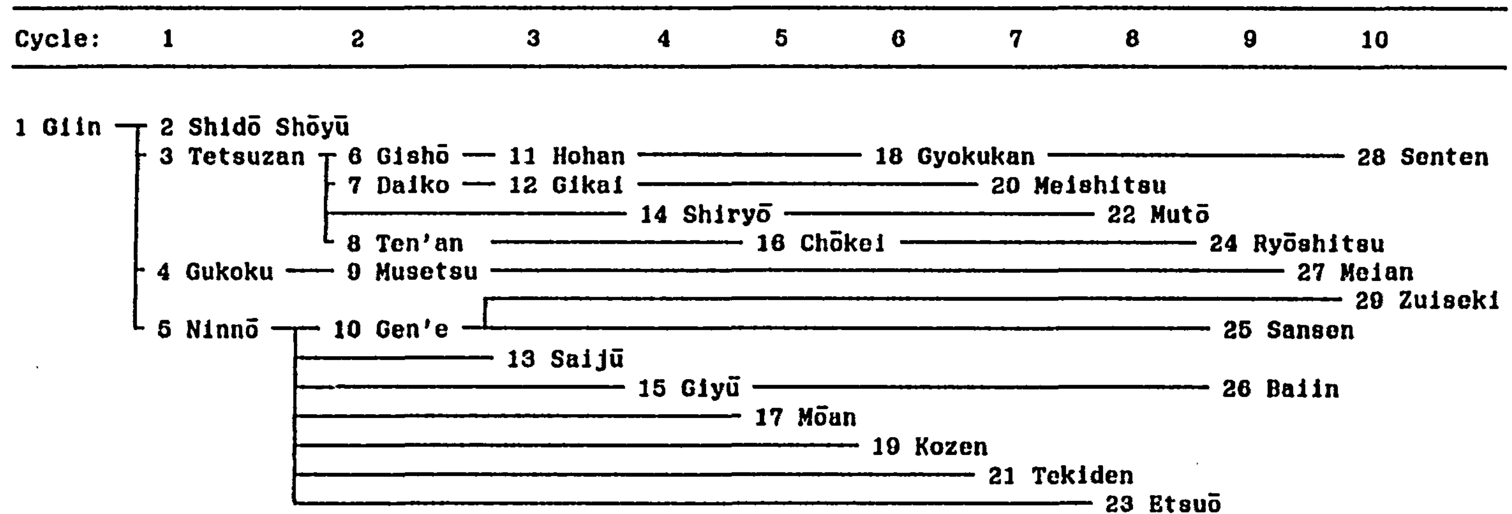
dharma descendants should be allowed to occupy the abbotship.[50] By this proclamation, Shian established the exclusivity of Daijiji, closing its monastic offices to anyone outside of Giin's lineage. Moreover, beginning with Shian, the abbots of Daijiji served relatively short terms, so that the abbotship would be available to a steady succession of new candidates. After Shian the next two abbots also were Giin's direct heirs. Subsequent abbots were drawn first from the ranks of Shian's disciples, and then from among the disciples of Giin's other heirs. In this way, all of Giin's direct heirs were able to insure that their own disciples also would have an opportunity to rise to the Daijiji abbotship. Within three or four teacher-disciple generations, Daijiji already had had twenty-six new abbots (see figure 3).

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[50]Mangen Shiban, *Enpō dentōroku*, fasc. 7, in *ZSZ*, 10, *Shiden*, 682.

FIGURE 3

DHARMA LINEAGES AND THE ABBOTSHIP OF DAIJIJI



As shown in this chart, Daijiji's twenty-third abbot had been only three dharma-generations removed from Giin. For a list of Daijiji's first sixty-six abbots, see Kuriyama, *Gakusan shiron*, 82-83.

This practice of rotating the abbotship (*rinjū*) among divergent lines of descendants had many advantages over any process of "straight-line" succession (in which each subsequent abbot is the direct disciple of his predecessor). It insured that Daijiji received support from all of the dharma lines descendent from Giin, thereby preventing factionalism. These different lines vied for offices at Daijiji, thereby providing a ready supply of able candidates. Moreover, because of the relatively rapid turnover, monks had many opportunities to advance through monastic offices. In this way, young monks quickly acquired expertise in a wide variety of monastic affairs as well as personal prestige. No doubt this process of accelerated promotion to monastic office helped fuel the regional expansion of Higo Sōtō by rapidly producing monks trained in the skills necessary for founding their own temples.

Senne and Kyōgō: Commentators on Dōgen's 'Shōbō genzō'

Senne (n.d.) and Kyōgō (n.d.), the next two of Dōgen's disciples to be considered, are vastly more important in the development of the orthodoxy of the modern Sōtō school than in their contributions to medieval Sōtō developments. Indeed their faction quickly died out. Other than an occasional chance mentioning of their names, there are no historical records describing Senne and Kyōgō's training under Dōgen, their careers, or the activities of their disciples. Yet in spite of their historical obscurity, Senne and Kyōgō are important because each wrote lengthy detailed commentaries on Dōgen's seventy-five chapter *Shōbō genzō*. In quantity either of these commentaries taken alone easily exceeds by many times the combined literary output of all of Dōgen's other disciples. These two commentaries miraculously survived.

Since their rediscovery in the mid-Tokugawa period, they also have revolutionized the Sōtō school's own understanding of Dōgen Zen. Therefore, Kagamishima Genryū correctly asserts that the modern Sōtō school is linked to Dōgen through two lines: institutionally through Gikai's lineage and ideologically through Senne's lineage.[51]

Senne was second only to Ejō among Dōgen's leading disciples. Like Ejō, Senne is believed to have inherited Dōgen's dharma line while Dōgen was still teaching at Kōshōji.[52] He is reported also to have inherited the dharma robe that once belonged to Furong Daojie (Fuyō Dōkai, 1043-1118), a famous Chinese Caodong master. This robe supposably had been passed down to Dōgen via his teacher Rujing.[53] At Kōshōji, Senne served as Dōgen's attendant (*jisha*).[54] Ban'an Eishu (1591-1654), a Tokugawa-period Sōtō monk who founded a new Kōshōji in 1649, popularized the idea that Senne had remained behind as the second

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[51]"Nihon Zenshūshi: Sōtōshū," in *Zenshū no rekishi: Nihon*, Kōza Zen, 4, ed. Suzuki Daisetsu and Nishitani Keiji (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1967), 100. The following discussion of Senne and Kyōgō is based largely upon Kagamishima's findings as reported in the above article (pp. 100-4), and in the two listed below: "'Shōbō genzōshō' no seiritsu to sono seikaku" (1964); "'Shōbō genzōshō' wo meguru sho mondai" (1975); both rpt. and rev. in *Dōgen Zenji to sono shūhen*, 106-17; and 79-105.

[52]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:13. Also see Kagamishima Genryū, "'Shōbō genzōshō' wo meguru sho mondai," 80-81.

[53]This robe appears in *Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:13; and is reported to have gone to Senne in *Yōshitsu zatsuki* (1457), in *Senpuku gentō rokushō*, 2, in *SZ*, 15, *Jishi*, 385. Regarding the tradition of the robe, see Kawamura Kōdō, "Senpukujibon 'Shōbō genzō kikigakishō' ni tsuite," in *Sōmokuroku*, supplementary vol. to *SBGZST*, 27:227b; and Nakaseko Shōdō, "'Fuyō kesa' shōrai wo iū sho shiryō he no gichaku," *SG*, 20 (1978): 47-52.

[54]*Kōroku*, sec. 1, in *DZZ*, 2:7.

abbot of Kōshōji when Dōgen moved to Echizen in 1243.[55] There is, however, no evidence to support Ban'an's assertion.

Instead it is much more likely that Senne accompanied Dōgen out of the capital. Senne would have had to remain with Dōgen in order to obtain his complete copy of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*. Within two weeks after leaving the capital, Dōgen already had composed at least one new chapter for this work. In all, thirty-five of the seventy-five *Shōbō genzō* chapters commented upon by Senne were composed by Dōgen after leaving the capital. Of the *Shōbō genzō* chapters originally composed at Kōshōji and later revised by Dōgen in Echizen, Senne commented on the revised versions.[56] Senne must have been with Dōgen in order to receive instruction in these chapters. Moreover, Senne, along with Ejō and Gien, was a principal compiler of Dōgen's *goroku*, which was arranged at Eiheiji after Dōgen's death. Senne organized the text for three of its ten sections: Dōgen's lectures at Kōshōji ("Kōshōji goroku"); Dōgen's verse comments on ninety *kōan* ("Juko"); and the miscellaneous verses ("Shinsan jisan narabi ni geju").[57] Following the compilation of Dōgen's *goroku*, Senne did return to the capital, but not to Kōshōji. Senne founded a new temple, Yōkōan (later known as Yōkōji), near

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[55]*Ban'an oshō monjū*, entry dated 1649:7, in *ZSZ*, 3, *Goroku*, 1:87.

[56]Kawamura Kōdō, "'Shōbō genzō' seiritsu no sho mondai," pt. 6, "Shinfukuji bunko shozō 'Daigo' maki sōkōhon no shōkai," *KBK*, 38 (1980): 18-19.

[57]*Kōroku*, secs. 1, 9, and 10, in *DZZ*, 2:7, 167, 186.

Kenninji at the site where Dōgen had been cremated.[58] At this location, Senne erected a memorial pillar in honor of Dōgen (*kaisantō*).[59] This pillar no longer exists; today Yōkōan's exact location remains unknown.

Kyōgō succeeded Senne as the second abbot of Yōkōan.[60] Before becoming Senne's disciple, Kyōgo is believed to have studied directly under Dōgen. Kyōgō, in commenting on the *Shōbō genzō*, refers to Dōgen as "my former teacher" (*senshi*) more than forty times.[61] At one point he refers to his own commentary as a "transcription" (*kikigaki*), the same word by which he refers to the commentary recorded by Senne, Dōgen's heir.[62] Also, Kyōgō is listed as a participant in the services conducted at Dōgen's cremation.[63] For these reasons we can no longer accept the assertion by Ōkubo Dōshū that Kyōgō must have been too young to have ever met Dōgen. To a large extent, Ōkubo's argument rested upon identifying Kyōgō, the abbot of Yōkōji, with a "Kyōgō" listed in a

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[58] *Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:14; and *Kyūki* (1505:9), Higashiyama Kōtaiji (Kyoto) D; rpt. in Kawamura Kōdō, "Dōgen Zenji to Eiheiji no kaisō," in *Eiheijishi*, 1:150. This Higashiyama Kōtaiji document was first introduced by Ishikawa Ryōiku, "Shari raimon ni tsuite," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* [abb. *"IBK"*], 11:2 (March 1963), 275, but without the portion mentioning Senne and Yōkōan.

[59] Mention of this pillar occurs in Daichi's poem, "Rai Yōkō Kaisantō," in *Daichi Zenji geju*, in *ZSZ*, 9, *Geju*, 753. Sōtō scholars mistakenly have interpreted the *kaisan* referred to in this title as Senne. Compare, however, the similar wording of the title of one of Dōgen's lectures included as a postscript to the *Shōbō genzōshō*, namely, "Hōgo: Kaisan no on kotoba"--which Ōkubo Dōshū retitled as "Sanzen gakudō myōjutsu," in *DZZ*, 2:389.

[60] *Kyūki*, in *Eiheijishi*, 1:150.

[61] Ikeda Rōsan, "Shōbō genzōshō no mondai," *KBRS*, 1 (1971): 73.

[62] *Shōbō genzōshō* (Senpukuji Yōshitsu edn.), fasc. 15, "Shoaku makusa" chap., in *SBGZST*, 12:587. This *SBGZST* edition is the only accurate reproduction of the original Senpukuji text.

[63] *Kyūki*, in *Eiheijishi*, 1:150.

collection of genealogical charts (the *Sonpi bunmyaku*, fasc. 6) who had attained the highest ecclesiastical rank awarded by the government (the rank of *hōin*). Ōkubo raises an important point, because if Kyōgō had attained such a high rank, he would have been advanced in years before leaving the established Buddhist centers to begin his study of Sōtō Zen. Kagamishima Genryū, however, has challenged this identification on the grounds that there is no evidence linking the two names. Kagamishima further notes that even if the identification is allowed to stand, the evidence that Kyōgō actually attained an ecclesiastical rank is inconclusive since an old edition of the genealogical charts in the Cabinet Library (Naikaku Bunko) does not include any rank under the name "Kyōgō."[64]

At Yōkōji, on the day of the full moon, fourth month of 1303, Kyōgō began writing his commentary on the *Shōbō genzō*. Writing only seven or ten days during each month of the summer training period, in six years he wrote approximately twenty fascicles. On the twenty-second of the twelfth month of 1308, as snow swept through his garden, Kyōgō wrote the final postscript to his commentary, which he called a *shō*.[65] His work is commonly known as: *Shōbō genzōshō*. Kyōgō signed himself as a Sōtō monk, indicating his own sectarian consciousness--even though Dōgen had argued that within true Buddhism no divisions such as "Sōtō sect" or even "Zen sect" exist.[66] Kyōgō appended a second commentary,

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[64]Ōkubo, *DZDKK*, 255-56; and Kagamishima Genryū, "'Shōbō genzōshō' wo meguru sho mondai," 84-85.

[65]*Shōbō genzōshō*, fasc. 30, in *SBGZST*, 14:481.

[66]*SBGZ*, "Butsudō" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:376-81, 386-87. Kyōgō included Dōgen's assertions in his commentary, but without much discussion (*Shōbō genzōshō*, fasc. 20, "Butsudō" chap., in *SBGZST*, 13:317).

approximately ten fascicles in all, at the end of each chapter of his own commentary as a supplement to authenticate the accuracy of his interpretations.[67] Kyōgō refers to this second commentary as *"gokikigaki."* Therefore it is known as the *"Shōbō genzō gokikigaki."* When both commentaries are referred to together, they are known as the *"Gokikigakishō,"* or *"Goshō"* for short. Although Kyōgō does not explain the origin of the *Gokikigaki*, because of the use of the honorific prefix "go," it is assumed that this appended commentary must have been written by Kyōgō's predecessor, Senne. It is further assumed that Senne composed his *kikigaki* commentary sometime around 1263, because one chapter of the *Gokikigaki* contains an unsigned postscript with that date.[68] By 1263 Senne already would have completed his work on Dōgen's *goroku*. This date can be deduced from the fact that Giin already had his copy of the *goroku* in China between 1264 and 1265.

The oldest extant manuscript of the *Goshō* also contains several other short texts. In addition to the two commentaries on the *Shōbō genzō*, there is a short commentary on the second half of the *Bonmōkyō* (Ch. *Fanwangjing*), a text that describes the Mahāyāna precepts that have received special emphasis within the Japanese Tendai tradition. This commentary, known as the *Bonmōkyō ryakushō* (hereafter cited as *"Ryakushō"*), contains an unsigned postscript dated the sixteenth of the

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[67]In exception to this general arrangement, the *Shō* and *Gokikigaki* are mixed together passage by passage (i.e., *ehon*) in the first three chapters (Genjō kōan, Maka hannya, and Busshō) of the manuscript.

[68]*Shōbō genzōshō*, fasc. 16, "Shoaku makusa" chap., in *SBGZST*, 12:658.

sixth month, 1309.[69] Because that is only half a year after Kyōgō had finished writing the *Goshō*, this commentary on the Mahāyāna precepts also is assumed to have been written by Kyōgō. The authorship of this commentary, however, generally is attributed to Senne, because the postscript contains the statement, "These are my former teacher's explanations." As a result of the assumed unity between these various texts, traditionally little distinction has been drawn between Senne and Kyōgō, or between their commentaries on the *Shōbō genzō* and on the *Bonmōkyō*. Only in the last few years, with the publication of an accurate edition of these texts, have scholars begun to re-examine these assumptions.[70]

For example, the words "my former teacher" in the postscript to the *Ryakushō* actually refer to Dōgen, not to Senne. This interpretation already had been indicated by a tiny note in the margin of the postscript written by a later Sōtō monk, Kendō (d. 1746). Kendō's note is not included in some published editions of the *Goshō*, but its accuracy is easily demonstrated. In commenting on the Mahāyāna precepts, the *Ryakushō* often quotes directly from Dōgen's writings.

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[69] *Shōbō genzōshō*, fasc. 31, *Bonmōkyō ryakushō* [abb. *"Ryakushō"*], in *SBGZST*, 14:632.

[70] As mentioned in note 62, the *SBGZST* (vols. 11-14) with its photographic reproduction of the actual Senpukuji Yōshitsu manuscript contains the only accurate typeset, critically edited version of the text. Two earlier published versions of the *Goshō*, one published by Kōmeisha (2 vols.) in 1903 (and subsequently reprinted in the *Shōbō genzō chūkai zensho* [11 vols., 1914; rpt., 1956-1958]) and one included in the original *SZ* (1930) presented so many different misreadings that many people were led to believe that different original manuscripts had been transcribed for each edition. When the *SZ* edn. was reprinted in 1970 most (but not all) of its errors were corrected in a complete revision of the text. The widely used *Chūkai zensho* edition has not been adequately revised, and should be avoided (the other commentaries in that collection also differ radically from their original form). See Kagamishima Genryū, "'Shōbō genzōshō' wo meguru sho mondai," 98-101.

Passages appear from Dōgen's *goroku*, from his *Shōbō genzō*, and from his *Busso shōden bosatsukai kyōju kaimon*.[71] Usually the author or sources of these passages are not identified. At one point, however, the *Ryakushō* states "in the text of my former teacher's 'Shinjin gakudō'" (i.e., the title a *Shōbō genzō* chapter).[72] Likewise the passages from the *Busso shōden bosatsukai kyōju kaimon* often are referred to as "my former teacher's words."[73] Clearly, the "former teacher" in this postscript should be interpreted as referring to the author of the explanations cited in the commentary rather than referring to the author of the commentary itself.

The history of Senne and Kyōgō's temple, Yōkōji, and the fate which caused their commentaries to be preserved are unknown. Numerous interlinear notes indicate that the commentaries continued to be studied at Yōkōji for several generations. One of these notes even is attributed to the fifth-generation abbot of Yōkōji.[74] Yet when Daichi visited the temple sometime before 1340, he described it as desolate, moss-covered, empty buildings.[75] If this description is accurate, then within thirty-years after Kyōgō completed the *Goshō*, already Yōkōji was

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[71]For examples of these quotations, see: (a) *Kōroku*, sec. 5, lec. 390 [*DZZ*, 2:96]; (b) *SBGZ*, "Genjō kōan" chap. [*DZZ*, 1:7-8]; and (c) *Busso shōden bosatsukai kyōjumon* [*DZZ*, 2:280]; as cited in the *Ryakushō*, in *SBGZST*, 14: (a) 536-37, (b) 549, and (c) 487, 494, 499. In the text of the commentary, none of these passages are identified as quotations from Dōgen's writings. The *Busso shōden bosatsukai kyōju kaimon* will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, "Precept Ordinations."

[72]*Ryakushō*, in *SBGZST*, 14:508.

[73]See, for example, ibid., in *SBGZST*, 14:519, 529.

[74]*Shōbō genzōshō*, fasc. 12, "Gabyō" chap., in *SBGZST*, 12:323.

[75]Daichi, "Rai Yōkō Kaisantō," in *ZSZ*, 9, *Geju*, 753.

in decline.[76] The oldest extant copy of the *Goshō* is found in the patriarch's hall (Yōshitsu), of Senpukuji, a temple in Kyushu (Oita Pref.), that was not founded until 1376. Temple records contain no mention of the *Goshō* at all until 1586 when it was reportedly saved from a fire that destroyed the temple.[77] Moreover, it was not mentioned in a 1457 account of the other contents of the patriarch's hall.[78] Therefore, between the time Yōkōji fell into decline (prior to 1340) and the Senpukuji fire of 1586, the whereabouts of the *Goshō* is a mystery. Kawamura Kōdō has proposed that the manuscript was presented to Senpukuji by Jikinyo -Chō (d. 1503), the abbot of one of Senpukuji's subtemples, Daiyūji.[79] Kawamura still is unable, however, to explain how Jikinyo would have acquired the manuscript. In spite of these difficulties regarding the history of the text, today no one doubts either the *Goshō*'s authenticity or its importance.

Before examining the importance of the *Goshō*, first let us note a few of its major characteristics. First, both Senne's *Gokikigaki* and Kyōgō's *Shō* were composed as formal commentaries. Because Senne's commentary is referred to as a transcription (*kikigaki*) by Kyōgō, traditionally it had been thought that Senne transcribed Dōgen's own lectures or explanations of each *Shōbō genzō* chapter and that Kyōgō then merely supplemented these lectures with his own comments. The word

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[76]Kagamishima Genryū, "'Shōbō genzōshō' wo meguru sho mondai," 91-93.

[77]Shundō Sengyoku (d.1859), *Fusetsu* (1830:7:25), included in *Senpuku gentō rokushō*, in *SZ*, 15, *Jishi*, 394.

[78]*Yōshitsu zatsuki*, in *Senpuku gentō rokushō*, 2, in *SZ*, 15, *Jishi*, 385-86.

[79]"Senpukujibon 'Shōbō genzō kikigakishō' ni tsuite," 242-43.

"kikigaki," however, while literally meaning "transcription," in this case refers to a commentary that purports to accurately convey the traditional understanding of the text. It does not imply any recording of lectures nor use of lecture notes.[80] Both Senne and Kyōgō write of Dōgen in the familiar. Moreover, Kyōgō wrote his *Shō* as a separate work, able to stand independently of Senne's *Gokikigaki*. Close examination of the two commentaries reveal differences in concern and in interpretation of the *Shōbō genzō*.[81]

The second major characteristic of the *Goshō* is that Senne and Kyōgō offer interpretations that could not be derived from any mere literal reading of the *Shōbō genzō*.[82] Both in terms of vocabulary (e.g., Kyōgō's stating that the words *"kōan"* and *"shōbō genzō"* are equivalent)[83] and in terms of exposition (e.g., the use of the principle that opposite statements express an identical truth),[84] the *Goshō* employs the same style of circular logic found throughout Dōgen's *Shōbō*

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[80]Kagamishima Genryū, "'Shōbō genzōshō' wo meguru sho mondai," 88-89.

[81]Ikeda, "Shōbō genzōshō no mondai," 83; and Kawamura, "Senpukujibon 'Shōbō genzō kikigakishō' ni tsuite," 221.

[82]Sakai Tokugen, "Shōbō genzōshō," in *Sōtōshū zensho kaidai sakuin* [abb. *"Kaidai"*], supplementary vol. to *SZ* and *ZSZ* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1978), 207b.

[83]*Shōbō genzōshō*, fasc. 1, "Genjō kōan" chap., in *SBGZST*, 11:8-9. According to Kyōgō's interpretation, *"kōan"* refers to pure reality, in and of itself, free from delusion, while *"shōbō genzō"* refers to Buddhism. Therefore Kyōgō is stating that reality itself is Buddhism.

[84]This principle (expressed by Dōgen as *"ippō wo shōsuru toki wa ippō wa kurashi"*; illuminating the one obscures the other) is cited often in Senne and Kyōgō's explanations. Simply explained, this idea asserts that all viewpoints necessarily embodies the totality of existence; no opposing reality possibly could exist. Therefore two opposite positions can be affirmed because each expresses the same absolute truth. See Itō Shūken, "'Goshō' no 'Shōbō genzō' kaishaku: Hiteiteki hyōgen ni tsuite," *KBK*, 35 (1977): 300-13.

genzō. Other Zen teachers are criticized repeatedly for their rejection of "words and letters."[85] Therefore, the *Goshō*, by emphasizing the unique elements within Dōgen's idiom, forces one to attempt to interpret the *Shōbō genzō* on its own terms, rather than as one would read a traditional Buddhist or Zen text. In going beyond a literal interpretation of the *Shōbō genzō*, the *Goshō* also displays a strong sectarianism. Senne and Kyōgō not only contrast Dōgen's teachings with those of traditional Japanese Buddhist schools, such as Tendai or Hossō, but also harshly criticize other Zen traditions as well. Dōgen himself, although critical of many trends in Song-dynasty Chinese Chan, refrained from criticizing Japanese Zen teachers. The *Goshō*, however, attacks the leading Zen teachers in Japan by name.[86] In the *Goshō*, Dōgen Zen is clearly differentiated from the styles of Zen then current in both China and Japan. On this point, Senne and Kyōgō stand apart from Dōgen's other disciples who looked to China for the models upon which to base their Zen.[87] In fact, from their criticisms of other Zen traditions, and from their having left Eiheiji, one can easily suppose that Senne and Kyōgō must have had conflicts with the former members of the Darumashū who became key members of Dōgen's community.[88]

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[85]See, for example, *Shōbō genzōshō*, fascs. 3, 4, and 10 ("Busshō," "Shinjin gakudō," and "Daigo" chaps.), in *SBGZST*, 11:59-60, 80-81, 259, 291-92, 489-90.

[86]*Shōbō genzōshō*, fasc. 15, "Kōmyō" chap., in *SBGZST*, 11:713-14, comment upon "Zazengi" chap. Also see Kagamishima Genryū, "'Shōbō genzōshō' no seiritsu to sono seikaku," 107-10; and Itō Shūken, "'Shōbō genzōshō' ni mirareru 'kindai no Zensō' hihan," *IBK*, 29:1 (Dec. 1980), 195-98.

[87]Kagamishima Genryū. "'Shōbō genzōshō' no seiritsu to sono seikaku," 110.

[88]Kagamishima Genryū, "Ejō Zenji to Eisai Zenji," 39.

The fourth major characteristic of the *Goshō* is its use of Japanese Tendai concepts and concerns in interpreting the *Shōbō genzō*. Because of this, there is little doubt that Senne and Kyōgō must have received thorough training in the doctrines of medieval Japanese Tendai before they converted to Dōgen's new Zen school. Likewise, Yōkōji must have had some nominal status as a Tendai temple in order to be allowed to exist in the capital.[89] Kyōgō's closeness to the Tendai tradition is suggested by his having lectured on the Mahāyāna precepts of the *Bonmōkyō*. This sūtra hardly appears in Dōgen's writings, but was studied frequently at Tendai temples.[90] In light of these points, one must question to what extent the interpretations in the *Goshō* might have been influenced by the Japanese Tendai doctrines of Original Enlightenment (*hongaku hōmon*) and Complete, One-step Precepts (*endonkai*).

There are two approaches to this question. On the one hand, if Tendai influences are evident already within Dōgen's own thought, then the *Goshō* cannot be guilty of misrepresenting Dōgen's intentions. Even though Senne and Kyōgō are well versed in Tendai doctrines, invariably these doctrines are mentioned in the *Goshō* only as negative examples of mistaken views.[91] Therefore, many Sōtō scholars believe the *Goshō* must be a reliable guide to Dōgen's intentions. Yet on the other hand, the

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[89]Kagamishima Genryū, "'Shōbō genzōshō' no seiritsu to sono seikaku," 106-7.

[90]Kagamishima Genryū identified only three references to the *Bonmōkyō* in Dōgen's writings. See his *Dōgen Zenji to in'yō kyōten*, 223; and Ikeda Rosan, "Bonmōkyō ryakushō no mondai: Bonmōkyō no kenkyūshi kara mita," *SG*, 14 (1972): 99.

[91]Ikeda Rosan, "Dōgen Zenji to Tendai hongaku shisō: Goshō ni okeru Tendai hihan," *SG*, 13 (1971): 87-92.

Goshō's interpretation of precept ordination procedures clearly violates the literal reading of the *Shōbō genzō* in favor of Japanese Tendai practice. In the "Shukke" (Becoming a Monk) chapter of the *Shōbō genzō*, Dōgen quotes a Chinese Zen code, the *Chanyuan qinggui* (Jpn. *Zennen shingi*, 1103), as stipulating: "After receiving the śrāvaka [i.e., Hīnayāna] precepts, then receive the bodhisattva [i.e., Mahāyāna] precepts."[92] Kyōgō, however, in commenting on this passage argues for the Japanese Tendai position that the śrāvaka precepts apply only in China, not in Japan.[93] Kyōgō's rejection of Hīnayāna precepts makes explicit a position implied elsewhere in Dōgen's writings, but leaves open the issue of inconsistencies in Dōgen's teachings.[94] Likewise, the emphasis on practice as the expression of inherent enlightenment (*honshō myōshū*) within the *Goshō* has been largely responsible for the gradual abandonment of systematic *kōan* training within the Sōtō school since the late Tokugawa period, even though Dōgen himself clearly had taught *kōan* Zen.[95] The *Goshō* even goes beyond Dōgen's writings to include Tendai concepts of original enlightenment such as the assertion by the Japanese Tendai scholar Annen (841-ca.889-98) that for a good monk, desires, even sexual lust, are the activity of enlightenment.[96]

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[92]See *DZZ*, 1:597; and *Yakuchū Zennen shingi* (fasc. 1, "Shoujie"; Jpn. "Jukai"), 13.

[93]*Shōbō genzōshō*, fasc. 29, "Shukke" chap., in *SBGZST*, 14:461.

[94]See Ishida Mizumaro, "Dōgen: Sono kai to shingi," pt. 1, *Komazawa bunko kenkyū*, 8:3 (March 1962), 1b; and Kagamishima Genryū, "Zenkai no seiritsu to endonkai" (1967), rpt. as "Endonkai to Busso shōden bosatsukai," in *Dōgen Zenji to sono shūhen*, 165 n.4. Dōgen's attitude toward precepts will be discussed below in chapter 7.

[95]This question is discussed in chapter 6 below.

[96]*Shōbō genzōshō*, fasc. 4, "Shinjin gakudō" chap., in *SBGZST*, 11:711-12. Also see Annen, *Shingonshū kyōjigi*, fasc. 1; in *T*, 75:382a.

To understand why the *Goshō* has become so influential in the modern Sōtō school, we must digress slightly to review the state of *Shōbō genzō* studies during the Tokugawa period. First, there was no definitive version of the text. All the major Sōtō temples had a *Shōbō genzō;* the name was widely known. Some temples, however, had only a single chapter. Expanded recensions varied between twelve, twenty-eight, sixty, seventy-five, and eighty-three or eighty-four chapter versions. Comparisons between these different recensions were conducted only with great difficulty because access to the manuscripts was limited to senior monks who had a direct affinity with the particular temple possessing a text. When comparisons were made, they revealed major differences between the different texts. Some chapters have variant editions.[97] Copyist errors, deletions and additions, were found in most manuscripts.[98] Moreover, at least one false chapter, "Shinzo," also had been in circulation since at least the fifteenth century.[99]

Because of this confused situation, the authenticity of the entire *Shōbō genzō* was considered doubtful. Therefore the Sōtō establishment was angered when, in 1700, Manzan Dōhaku (1636-1714) used

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[97]*DZZ* contains variant versions of five *SBGZ* chapters: "Shin fukatoku," "Bukkōjōji," "Butsudō" [variant version retitled, "Dōshin" in the so-called *Honzan* edn.], "Senmen," and "Sanjigō."

[98]Danno Hiroyuki estimates that emendations are found in about seventy percent of *SBGZ* manuscripts that had been copied from versions predating the compilations by Manzan and Menzan. See his "Shōbō genzō tōshabon ni okeru 'kakiire' ni tsuite," *SG*, 27 (1985): 78.

[99]This chapter (also known by variant titles such as "Baika shisho," "Baika," "Den'e," "Shisho," and "Shinsho") existed by the time of Chikuko Shōyū (1380-1461). It was included as part of the *Shōbō genzō* in the original edn. of *SZ* (1929-1935), but deleted from the revised reprint (1970-1973) and moved to *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*. For a detailed history, see Kawamura Kōdō, "Isen shiryō Shōbō genzō chūsho Baika shisho," in *Sōmokuroku*, *SBGZST*, 27:134.

the *Shōbō genzō* as the basis for an appeal before the Tokugawa shogunate's Agency of Temples and Shrines (*Jisha bugyō*) in order to force the Sōtō school to alter its system of temple-dharma lineages (*garanbō*).[100] Although the shogunate eventually ruled in favor of Manzan, opposition to his reforms came entirely from within the Sōtō hierarchy, who argued against the authority of the *Shōbō genzō*.[101] Significantly in presenting his case to the government, Manzan had cited only selected passages from the *Shōbō genzō*, all in his own unambiguous Chinese-language translations.[102] In contrast to this, his opponents had cited whole chapters in Dōgen's original, difficult Japanese to argue for interpretations exactly opposite of Manzan's.[103] These opposing interpretations demonstrated that no one understood with confidence the true intent of Dōgen's language. Nonetheless, the 1703 ruling in favor of Manzan's appeal by the Tokugawa shogunate ordered the Sōtō school to base its religious practices upon Dōgen's teachings.[104] In response to this challenge and in order to avoid further controversies over the meaning of the *Shōbō genzō*, the Sōtō hierarchy requested the government to ban both the copying and publication of any

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[100]A detailed account of Manzan's appeal is found in an account written by his disciple, Sanshū Hakuryū (1669-1760), *Shūtō fukkoshi*, 2 fascs. (1760), in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shitsuchū*, 533-602.

[101]*Shūtō fukkoshi*, fasc. 2, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shitsuchū*, 583.

[102]*Shūtō fukkoshi*, fasc. 1, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shitsuchū*, 554-55.

[103]Jōzan Ryōkō (d. 1736), *Shōbō tekiden shishi ikkushū* (1702), fasc. 1, contains a detailed commentary on the texts of the *SBGZ* chapters "Shisho," and "Juki" in order to argue against Manzan's positions. See *SBGZST*, 20:528-51.

[104]*Shūtō fukkoshi*, fasc. 1, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shitsuchū*, 594.

version of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*, which the shogunate did in 1722.[105]

During this period, Tenkei Denson (1648-1735), a Sōtō scholar, conducted the first full length, line-by-line, study of the *Shōbō genzō* since Kyōgō. His commentary, the *Benchū* (written ca.1726-1729), rejected outright six *Shōbō genzō* chapters, and suggested alterations to many others.[106] Tenkei, in addition to editing out passages that failed to agree with his own understanding, also "corrected" Dōgen's readings of Chinese passages by adding additional words or changing the punctuation. Significantly, Tenkei's criticisms of the *Shōbō genzō* were in agreement with many of those expressed by a Rinzai monk, Mujaku Dōchū (1653-1744), who wrote his own critique at about the same time (ca.1725-1726).[107] Of the twenty objections raised by Mujaku, ten also are found in Tenkei's *Benchū*.[108] Tenkei and Mujaku alike believed in a basic unity underlying all Zen, Sōtō and Rinzai, Japanese and Chinese. Neither could accept Dōgen's criticisms of famous Chinese Linji

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[105]Regarding the issuing of the order banning publication and copying of the *SBGZ* (i.e., the *"Kaihan kenshi no rei"*), see Yokozeki Ryōin, *Edo jidai Tōmon seiyō* (1938; rpt. Tokyo: Tōyō Shoin, 1977), 909-12.

[106]*Shōbō genzō benchū* [abb. *"Benchū"*] (written ca.1726-1729), copy (ca.1777) by Ryūsui Nyotoku, 20 fascs., in *SBGZST*, 15:1-620. The government ban on publication of the *SBGZ* prevented Tenkei from personally editing a final version of his commmentary within his own lifetime. The *SBGZST* edn., however, preserves the original form of the *Benchū*, which was altered considerable in the standard woodblock edn. (22 fascs.; 1875) in order to remove passages found objectionable by Tenkei's critics. The *Shōbō genzō chūkai zensho* version is even more unreliable since it accompanies the official *"Honzan"* (95-chapter) edn. of the *SBGZ* text, while Tenkei's commentary had been intended to accompany his own "corrected" version of the *SBGZ*.

[107]*Shōbō genzō senpyō*, rpt. in Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen Zenji to sono monryū*, 255-89.

[108]Shibe Ken'ichi, "'Shōbō genzō senpyō' to Edoki shūgaku no kanren," *SG*, 25 (1983): 254.

masters.[109] Another major difficulty was Dōgen's use of scripture. Both Tenkei and Mujaku protested Dōgen's ungrammatical readings of Chinese texts.[110] These criticisms revealed that the *Shōbō genzō*, even if proven to be Dōgen's own composition, would not be accepted as authoritative until new hermeneutics were developed to explain and justify Dōgen's unusual expressions.

The *Goshō* proved essential in answering to this need. Although the *Goshō* had failed to influence Tenkei Denson, who had first consulted and then rejected it in his own studies of the *Shōbō genzō*,[111] it ultimately proved convincing because it gave Edo-period Sōtō scholars a reference for interpreting Dōgen that not only provided a doctrinal basis for many of the unusual statements in the *Shōbō genzō*, but also explained Dōgen's ungrammatical readings of scripture.[112] In this way, the *Goshō* was absolutely crucial in creating two views among Sōtō school scholars: (1) that Japanese Sōtō Zen practice must be judged against Dōgen's religion, and (2) that Dōgen's religion transcends other understanding of Zen practice and Buddhism. The *Goshō* ultimately has

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[109]See ibid. and Kagamishima Genryū, "Mujaku Dōchū to Tōmon no kōshō," in *Dōgen to sono monryū*, 222-23.

[110]See (1) Mujaku Dōchū (1653-1744), "Jinzū no shō," in *Shōbō genzō senpyō* (ca.1725-1726), rpt. in Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen to sono monryū* (1961): 236; and (2) Tenkei Denson (1648-1735), *Benchū*, fasc. 5, leaf 7a-b, "Zazenshin" chap., in *SBGZST*, 15:112a.

[111]See Jikishi Gentan (d. 1776), *Taizō shiso Tenkei oshō nenpu* (1767), entry for 1726, in *SZ*, 17, *Shiden*, 2:473; Tenkei Denson, *Benchū* (copied ca.1777), fasc. 17, leaf 2b, "Udonge" chap., in *SBGZST* 15:484b; and *Benchū*, Fukushōji Ms. (1719), fasc. 1, leaf 4a-b, "Hanrei" sec., in *SBGZST*, 15:714b.

[112]For analysis of Dōgen's creative readings of Chinese scripture, see Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen Zenji to in'yō kyōten*, 31-83; and Hee-Jim Kim, "'The Reason of Words and Letters': Dōgen and Kōan Language," in *Dōgen Studies*, 54-82.

left an indelible stamp on the accepted orthodoxy of modern Sōtō by influencing Menzan Zuihō (1683-1769) and Banjin Dōtan (1698-1775), the two monks whose scholarship has come to define the meaning of Dōgen Zen. Menzan, in addition to his own exegesis of Sōtō doctrines, attacked Tenkei Denson for not having recognized the importance of the *Goshō*.[113] Banjin Dōtan based his doctrine of Zen precepts largely upon Kyōgō's commentary in the *Ryakushō*.[114] Finally the *Goshō* merely by its very existence has been key evidence in proving that Dōgen did author the *Shōbō genzō* and, more recently, that Dōgen himself compiled the eighty-seven (i.e., seventy-five plus twelve) chapter edition of the *Shōbō genzō*.[115] Therefore Senne and Kyōgō have continued influencing Japanese Sōtō Zen down to the present day perhaps more than any of Dōgen's other disciples.

Gikai: The Founder of Daijōji

Gikai played a crucial role in the early history of the Japanese Sōtō school. Not only did his line prevail over those of Dōgen's other disciples with its strong regional growth, but he was also influential in many major developments.[116] Gikai's strong local ties to, and detailed knowledge of Echizen contributed to Dōgen's decision to move his community to that province. Gikai's adoption of a Rinzai

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[113] *Shōbō genzō byakujaketsu* (1742), leaf 8a-b, in *SBGZST*, 20:275b.

[114] Banjin compiled the *Busso shōden zenkaishō* (1758; in *SZ*, 3 *Zenkai*, 455-77), a collection of extracts from the *Bonmōkyō ryakushō*, to serve as a primary reference to studying Zen precepts.

[115] Kagamishima Genryū, "'Shōbō genzō' no seiritsuteki kenkyū," 240-41.

[116] The following discussion of Gikai is indebted to Ishikawa Rikizan, "Gikai Zenji no denki to gyōseki," in *Eiheijishi*, 1:225-54.

dharma lineage while also winning Dōgen's confidence led to a greater acceptance of Rinzai Zen at Eiheiji.[117] Gikai's efforts to complete the construction of Eiheiji and to introduce Zen rituals not yet taught by Dōgen won him accolade as the "reviver" of Eiheiji (*Eihei chūkō*).[118] His moving to Kaga marked the expansion of the Sōtō school into northeastern Japan. Finally, among his disciples he produced Keizan Jōkin, who ranks almost equal to Dōgen as an object of religious veneration in the modern Sōtō school.

Gikai had strong roots in the Echizen area. He was born of a family claiming descent from General Fujiwara Toshihito (fl. 915), in the rural hamlet of Inazu.[119] This branch of the Fujiwaras had been active in Echizen as early as the ninth century, where their scions subsequently had formed many local warrior families. The Fujiwara family that had adopted the lineage name "Inazu," in particular, had produced many of the leading monks at Heisenji. This temple, located about twenty-five kilometers from Eiheiji, served as the embarkation point for worshipers of Hakusan (the White Mountain). Heisenji was the most prominent Tendai temple in Echizen, alternately allied with both of the two rival centers of Japanese Tendai, Mt. Hiei and Onjōji. Although Gikai was born in Inazu Hamlet, there is no positive proof that Gikai's

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[117]Kagamishima Genryū, "Ejō Zenji to Eisai Zenji," 46-48.

[118]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:18.

[119]*Shōtōshiki* (1309:9:16), D in *Eihei daisandai Daijō kaisan dai oshō senge sōji kiki* (a.k.a. *Tettsū Gikai Zenji sōki*) [abb. *"Gikai sōki"*] (1309:10:3), comp. Keizan Jōkin, in *Zenrin gashōshū* (copied ca. mid-1400s), in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 6; and Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkoku dentōin gorō gosoku narabi ni gyōgō ryakuki* [abb. *"Gosoku ryakuki"*] (1323:9:13), in *Tōkokuki*, in *JDZ*, 415. The *Gosoku ryakuki* is not included in the preferred edition of the *Tōkokuki*, namely, the 1432 Daijōji "secret" Ms. (*hihon*), ed. Ōtani Teppu, *SG*, 16 (1974): 231-48.

family also claimed the lineage name "Inazu." Nonetheless, it is impossible to overlook the fact that the Inazu family had intermarried with the Hatano family, the principal patrons of Eiheiji. This might be one reason for the close relationship that Gikai was able to enjoy with Hatano Yoshishige, Yoshishige's son Tokimitsu and Yoshishige's grandson Shigemichi.[120]

Gikai began his religious life at age twelve (1231) when he was tonsured by Ekan at Hajakuji, then located near the future site of Eiheiji. A year after his tonsure, Gikai journeyed to Mt. Hiei where he received a formal ordination based on the Tendai precepts. Gikai's length of stay and course of study at Mt. Hiei are unknown. Under Ekan, Gikai's scriptural study in the Darumashū reportedly included the three main Pure Land sūtras, and the *Shūryōgongyō* (Ch. *Shoulengyanjing*, a scripture compiled in China). He also attempted to induce the Zen enlightenment experience known as the direct perception of reality (*kenshō*).[121] This training parallels that of Ejō, who also had received the precepts on Mt. Hiei, had studied Pure Land doctrines, and then had strived to attain the direct perception of reality. Ejō reportedly had succeeded in attaining that direct insight upon hearing the *Shūryōgongyō* lectured upon by Kakuan, Ekan's teacher.[122]

In 1241 Gikai accompanied Ekan and other members of the Darumashū who joined Dōgen's community at Kōshōji. Gikai must have had

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[120]Ishikawa Rikizan, "Gikai Zenji no denki, 228-30. Inazu is located near Ha'nyū Mura, Miyamachō, in central Fukui Pref., in the area that once was the district of Kita Asuwa.

[121]*Daiso gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:16.

[122]*Daiso gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:14; and *Denkōroku*, patriarch 52, 112.

little difficulty in the transition from Ekan's Zen to Dōgen's, because at Kōshōji he attained his first glimpse of Zen enlightenment. According to Keizan, it occurred when Gikai heard Dōgen explain one abstract statement by means of juxtaposing it with a concrete example. Dōgen first cited a scriptural passage, "The phenomena of the mundane world abide forever,"[123] and then explained: "Spring glows with the redness of hundreds of flowers; Partridges cry from willows."[124] In the extant record of Dōgen's lectures at Kōshōji, however, this juxtaposition does not appear, although similar images were used in separate lectures.[125] Two years after joining Dōgen's community, in 1243, Gikai assumed the duties of chief cook (*tenzo*). It was the winter just after the move to Echizen. He was responsible both for securing a supply of food and for preparing all the meals. The early histories claim that Gikai did this all alone, even though at Kippōji (the rural hermitage where they waited out the winter) he had to walk eight *chō* across windy mountain paths, through deep snow, carrying buckets of

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[123]This statement (*sekensō jōjū*) is found in the *Miaofa lianhuajing* (Jpn. *Myōhō rengekyō;* Lotus Sūtra), Chap. 2, "Hōben" (Tactfulness), fasc. 1, in *T*, 9:9b. The translation used above follows the reading common in medieval Japanese Tendai texts. Modern scholars, however, now interpret the text as stating that the law of causality (not mundane phenomena) permanently resides in the world. See Sakamoto Yukio and Iwamoto Yutaka, trans., *Hokekyō*, Iwanami Bunko (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1962), 1:120 and 342. Also, compare: H. Kern, *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka or The Lotus of the True Law*, The Sacred Books of the East, 21, ed. F. Max Müller (Oxford, 1884; rpt., New York: Dover, 1963), 53.

[124]*Gosoku ryakuki*, in *JDZ*, 415; and *Daiso gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:16.

[125]Lec. 72, given sometime in mid-1241 contains the comment, "Partridges cry; there, hundreds of flowers blossom," while lecture 91, delivered at the beginning of 1242 concerns the statement, "The phenomena of the mundane world abide forever." See *Kōroku*, sec. 1, in *DZZ*, 2:22 and 24. For the dates of Dōgen's lectures, see Itō Shūken, "'Eihei kōroku' setsuji nendaikō," 185.

supplies for each day's two meals.[126] Gikai's knowledge of the local area no doubt was of great assistance in securing suitable supplies for the community of monks. His appointment to the duties of cook also indicates the high esteem that Gikai already had attained in Dōgen's eyes, since according to Dōgen the duties of monastic cook could be met only by the most earnest of monks.[127]

While Gikai won Dōgen's confidence, he also remained the personal disciple of his Darumashū teacher, Ekan. This dual role resulted from the contradiction underlying Ekan's position among Dōgen's disciples. On the one hand, Ekan's move from Hajakuji to Kōshōji in 1241 was a sincere acceptance of Dōgen as his new master. Dōgen's introduction to Japan of the traditional Chinese-style meditation platform and his teaching of Chinese-style Zen meditation ritual centered on life in a monks' hall (*sōdō*) already had become widely known among both monks and laymen. This emphasis on practice greatly differed from the naturalistic antinomianism handed down within the Darumashū. Therefore, entering Kōshōji represented a true conversion for Ekan and his followers. After this conversion, Ekan's willingness to learn had led Dōgen to admit Ekan to his own precept lineage.[128] At Eiheiji, Ekan rose to the position of supervisor of the monk's hall (*shuso*).[129]

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[126]*Daiso gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:16. As of 1891, one *chō* equaled sixty *ken*, the unit of distance between two successive vertical supports in Japanese architecture. The ratios for premodern units, however, lacked standardization.

[127]*Tenzo kyōkun*, in *DZZ*, 2:295.

[128]*Goyuigon*, entry dated 1253:4:27, copied 1752 by Menzan, Eiheiji Ms., in *SBGZST*, 20:819; alt. *DZZ*, 2:496.

[129]Dōgen addressed Ekan as supervisor (*shuso*) while offering a lecture in memory of Ekan's former teacher, Kakuan. *Kōroku*, sec. 3, lec. 185, in *DZZ*, 2:49.

Moreover Ekan openly lamented his never having inherited Dōgen's dharma lineage.[130]

Yet on the other hand, Ekan already had inherited a Darumashū dharma lineage from his original teacher, Kakuan, before joining Dōgen. This presented Ekan with a dilemma. In Zen tradition, finding a suitable successor to one's lineage can be the only means of repaying one's true indebtedness to the original teacher of that lineage. Therefore, in 1251 when Ekan realized that he would soon die without ever inheriting Dōgen's lineage, he gave both his own Darumashū dharma lineage as well as the precept lineage he had received from Dōgen to Gikai. Ekan further exhorted Gikai to obtain the Sōtō dharma lineage that had eluded him (Ekan), since he believed that Gikai's inheriting of Dōgen's dharma lineage would bring merit to himself as well as to Gikai.[131]

Gikai's final conversations with Dōgen and his inheriting of Dōgen's Sōtō lineage through Ejō are described in detail in a record supposedly written by Gikai himself, usually known as the *Eihei kaisan goyuigon kiroku* (Record of the Final Words of the Founder of Eiheiji, hereafter referred to as *"Goyuigon"*).[132] This text, however, must be interpreted cautiously. There are difficulties in accepting both its

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[130]*Goyuigon*, entry dated 1253:4:27, in *SBGZST*, 20:820; alt. *DZZ*, 2:497; and *Daiso gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:16-17.

[131]Gikai, *Gikan fuhōjō* (1306:8:28), in *Komonjo*, no. 1405, 2:408-9; *Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:16-17; and *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1253:4:27, in *SBGZST*, 20:819; alt. *DZZ*, 2:496.

[132]Ōkubo Dōshū retitled this text the *"Eihei shitsuchū monsho"* (Conversations Heard in the Abbot's Quarters at Eiheiji) on the grounds that the greater portion of the record concerns Gikai's relationship with Ejō, not the final words of Dōgen (the *kaisan*, or "founder," in the title). See *DZZ*, 2:554.

reported historical transmission and its content. Supposably Gikai's original manuscript had been copied by Giin, whose reproduction was then recopied by Daichi in 1326. The earliest extant manuscripts, however, go back no earlier than Menzan Zuihō's copy of 1753.[133]

Although Menzan claimed to have based his copy on an earlier manuscript (dated 1326), the fallibility of Menzan's textual criticism has been well demonstrated. Menzan discovered a spurious commentary on the *Shōbō genzō* when he was about thirty (the same age at which he claimed to have discovered the *Goyuigon*) and later (1767) published it as the work of Ejō.[134] Moreover, it is now clear that Menzan had no misgivings over arbitrarily rewriting the texts that he edited. For example, Menzan's revised edition of the early Sōtō history by Kenzei, the *Teiho Kenzeiki* (1753)--until recently the only version of Kenzei's history widely available--differs considerably from older manuscript versions, all of which are fairly consistent with each other. Likewise, Menzan's published text of Dōgen's *Hōkyōki* contains nearly 260 emendations. Further doubts are raised by attributing possession of the *Goyuigon* to Giin. His possession of a copy of Gikai's record of the dharma-transmission rituals cannot be accounted for unless Giin had been Gikai's dharma heir--a position advocated by Menzan. Therefore one

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[133]"Postscript" (1752:12), *Goyuigon*, in *SBGZST*, 20:830. Menzan claimed that his first copy was made in 1714. Daijiji possesses a text reputed to be an original copy by Daichi, but this text has never been authenticated. Moreover, this Daijiji text is not the Daichi copy (originally stored at Kōfukuji but now lost) that Menzan claimed to have copied. See Sakurai Shūyū, "Eihei kaisan goyuigon kiroku," in *Sōmokuroku*, *SBGZST*, 27:447; and Okubo Dōshū, "Goyuigon kiroku," in *Kaidai*, 106.

[134]Convincing arguments against the authenticity of this work, the *Kōmyōzō zanmai*, have been advanced by Azuma Ryūshin, "Ejō no shūkyō shisō to sono tokushiki," *IBK*, 14:1 (Dec. 1965): 270 n. 1; and Ishikawa Rikizan, "Ejō Zenji no denki," 193-95.

cannot have complete confidence either that the manuscript discovered by Menzan was exactly as Gikai had written it, or that Menzan's recopying was faithful.

In content, the *Goyuigon* occasionally assumes the character of an apologia. This day-by-day chronicle of Gikai's progress toward dharma transmission clearly had been compiled in order to assert the greater legitimacy of Gikai's line above all others. Quotations attributed to Dōgen and Ejō emphasize Gikai's unique closeness to Ekan, Dōgen and Ejō. First, Dōgen is quoted as praising Ekan's devotion to Buddhism, and commending Gikai's good fortune in having received Ekan's succession certificate (*shisho*).[135] Dōgen even expresses condolences for Ekan's failure to inherit the Sōtō lineage.[136] Then Ejō is depicted as quoting Dōgen's praise of Ekan's good judgment in selecting Gikai as his successor.[137] In the *Goyuigon*'s records of Gikai's final conversations with Dōgen, Dōgen praises Ekan directly for his correct manners in secular affairs and his strong commitment to Buddhism.[138] Dōgen repeatedly entreats Gikai to supervise Eiheiji, to sustain the Buddhism that Dōgen had established there, and also assures Gikai of his future reception of a Sōtō succession certificate.[139] Dōgen also is

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[135] *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1253:4:25, in *SBGZST*, 20:820; alt. *DZZ*, 2:496-97.

[136] Ibid., entry dated 1253:4:27, in *SBGZST*, 20:820; alt. *DZZ*, 2:497.

[137] Ibid., entry dated 1255:2:13, in *SBGZST*, 20:828; alt. *DZZ*, 2:505.

[138] Ibid., entry dated 1253:7:8, in *SBGZST*, 20:821; alt. *DZZ*, 2:498.

[139] Ibid., entry dated 1253:4:27, in *SBGZST*, 20:820; alt. *DZZ*, 2:497. The *DZZ* edition's reading of this passage has been corrected without comment. Here, the corrected reading is being followed.

quoted, while preparing for his final trip to Kyoto for medical treatment, as promising Gikai: "If I live longer, when I return I will certainly teach my secret treasure (*hizō*) to you."[140] In this way, Gikai underscores his rights to inherit both Dōgen's lineage and the abbotship of Eiheiji.

Finally, the transmission of Zen from Dōgen to Ejō, and from Ejō to Gikai is stressed. Ejō is quoted as asserting that of all of Dōgen's disciples, he alone had been instructed in the rituals for transmitting the succession certificate, that he alone had been initiated in the secret oral instructions on how to manage a temple and transmit the dharma.[141] At the end of the document, Ejō expresses satisfaction at having Gikai as his first dharma heir. He admits that he can now die without regrets after having initiated Gikai and goes on to state that even if he attains other heirs, no one in addition to Gikai will receive a "text" (*hon*).[142] It is unclear exactly what text Ejō meant. Perhaps he was speaking of Gikai's detailed record of the dharma transmission ceremonies that is contained in the *Goyuigon*. Or he might have been speaking of some other text, such as the so-called *Ichiya hekiganshū* (One-Night Blue Cliff Records).[143]

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[140]Ibid., entry dated 1253:7:28, in *SBGZST*, 20:822; alt. *DZZ*, 2:499. The expression "secret treasure" (*hizō*) is a common metaphor for a very important matter or valued object.

[141]Ibid., entries dated 1255:1:3, 1255:1:6, in *SBGZST*, 20:823, 825; alt. *DZZ*, 2:500, 502.

[142]Ibid., entry dated 1255:2:14, in *SBGZST*, 20:828-29; alt. *DZZ*, 2:506.

[143]The "One-night" *Hekikiganshū* might have been handed down within the Darumashū, eventually reaching Gikai by way of Ejō. See Nishiari Kin'ei [a.k.a. Bokusan] (1821-1910), *Daijōji ichiya hekiganben*, rpt. in Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen to in'yō kyōten*, 177-79 n. 1.

In addition to emphasizing the pre-eminence of Gikai's lineage, the *Goyuigon* also contains passages that are doubtful for doctrinal reasons. Four conversations, two with Dōgen and two with Ejō, present views of Dōgen and his teachings that are quite different from the ones now usually derived from Dōgen's writings. First, the chronicle begins with Dōgen stating his approval of Gikai's Darumashū lineage and giving assurance to Gikai that once he (Gikai) also inherits the Sōtō lineage, then he will understand the differences between the Sōtō succession certificate and those used in other Zen lineages.[144]

These statements contradict two doctrines, known as *"menju shihō"* and *"isshi inshō,"* that were established in the Tokugawa period by Sōtō scholars based on the "Shisho" (Succession Certificate) and "Menju" (Face-to-Face Transmission) chapters of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō.* The Darumashū lineage--one that originated in Japan, but purported to have been derived from a Chinese teacher--had failed to meet the criteria of a physical face-to-face bonding between Zen teacher and dharma heir (*menju shihō*). It is difficult to reconcile Dōgen's remark in the *Goyuigon* that the Darumashū's lineage chart (*kechimyaku*) is a real succession certificate with his assertion in the "Menju" chapter that: "In each generation, one who has not seen the teacher is not his disciple; one who has not seen the disciple is not his teacher."[145] Moreover by acknowledging the legitimacy of Gikai's Darumashū succession, Dōgen then violates the principle that one can properly inherit no more than one teacher's lineage (*isshi inshō*).

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[144] *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1253:4:27, in *SBGZST*, 20:819-20; alt. *DZZ*, 2:496-97.

[145] *SBGZ*, "Menju" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:448.

In a subsequent conversation, while requesting Gikai to remain at Eiheiji, Dōgen stressed the importance of satisfying the temple's secular sponsors: "If the temple's patrons are at ease (*annon*) then within the temple there will be ease."[146] Again, this directly contradicts Dōgen's attitude as depicted in Ejō's *Zuimonki* in which Dōgen severely rebukes one monk for having suggested that having a steady sponsor would improve the monks' ability to practice Buddhism.[147] The *Zuimonki* further quotes Dōgen as proclaiming:

> People in this age think that the carving of images and the erecting of temples is the flourishing of Buddhism. This too is not so. . . . Monks do not cause Buddhism to flourish by engagement in these activities. For [monks] in a thatched hut or under a tree, merely to reflect upon one phrase of the Dharma, or to practice a single moment of seated meditation would be the true flourishing of Buddhism.[148]

The strong contrast between the linking of temple with patron in the *Goyuigon* and the idealist emphasis upon practice alone in the *Zuimonki* forces one to ask which Dōgen, Gikai's or Ejō's, is accurate.[149]

The *Goyuigon*'s record of conversations with Ejō raises additional questions. During the dharma transmission ceremony Ejō states:

> . . . There are secret affairs and oral initiations. These matters that never have been spoken of to anyone else, concern the mental attitude of an abbot, temple rituals, the ceremony for conferring the succession certificate, and the procedure for bodhisattva-precept ordinations. [Dōgen had said:] 'These can be transmitted

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[146] *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1253:4:27, in *SBGZST*, 20:821; alt. *DZZ*, 2:498.

[147] Sec. 2, in *Koten bungaku-81*, 347; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:436-37.

[148] Sec. 3, in *Koten bungaku-81*, 362; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:447.

[149] Ishikawa Rikizan. "Dōgen Zenji metsugo no Eiheiji sōdan ni tsuite: 'Goyuigon kiroku' no shiryō kachi," in *Ejō Zenji kenkyū*, ed. Kumagai Chūkō (Fukui Pref.: Sosan Sanshōkai, 1981), 194, 196-97.

> only to one's dharma heir.' For this reason only I, Ejō, have received this instruction.[150]

The learning of ritual always requires personal instruction, but the emphasis on secret initiations in this passage is not found in any of Dōgen's writings. If Ejō spoke these words, then the origins of the secret initiation rituals that became prevalent in medieval Sōtō Zen can be traced directly back to Dōgen.[151] This passage, however, most likely is a later interpolation. Dōgen's composition of a *Shōbō genzō* chapter devoted to describing the use of the succession certificate demonstrates his openness regarding the rituals of dharma transmission.[152]

The final questionable passage in the *Goyuigon* concerns Dōgen's interpretations of Zen enlightenment and *kōan*. Gikai prefaces this conversation with Ejō by stating: "During the prior meditation period, I was aided by our former teacher's great enlightenment situation, the *shinjin-datsuraku* words."[153] In this statement, the term translated as "situation" (*innen*, literally "relationship") refers to the circumstances under which Zen enlightenment occurs. It is often used as a synonym for "story" or *kōan*, while the term translated as "words" (*wa*) also is a synonym for *kōan*. In modern Sōtō Zen, *shinjin datsuraku*

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[150] *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1255:1:6, in *SBGZST*, 20:825; alt. *DZZ*, 2:502.

[151] This is the position advocated by Sugimoto Shuryū, who argues for the legitimacy of the Sōtō school's secret dharma initiation traditions. See his *Zōtei Tōjō shitsunai kirikami narabi ni sanwa kenkyū* (1938; rev. edn. 1941; rpt., Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1982), 11-12.

[152] It is of interest to note that the "Honzan" edition of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* published at Eiheiji between 1796-1811 excluded the "Shisho" (Succession Certificate) and four other chapters concerning dharma transmission because the ceremonies had become too secret.

[153] *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1255:1:7, in *SBGZST*, 20:826; alt. *DZZ*, 2:503.

refers to the practice of meditation as the experience of ultimate reality (see chapter 2). In this passage, however, the words *"shinjin datsuraku"* represent a stock phrase or device (i.e., an "old example," *kosoku*, or *kōan*) for contemplation during meditation. This use of *shinjin datsuraku* as a formal meditation device is confirmed by the fact that Ejō is depicted as testing Gikai's understanding by asking him to present an "appended phrase" (*jakugo*, i.e., a passage from a Chinese Zen text summing up the meaning of a *kōan*). Their dialogue is as follows:

> Gikai: 'I have attained an insight based on our former teacher's saying, "*Shinjin datsuraku.*"'
> Ejō: 'Good. Good. What do you understand?'
> Gikai: 'I understand "*datsuraku shinjin.*"'[154]
> Ejō: 'What is the meaning?'
> Gikai: '"I had thought only (my) barbarian beard was red, but here is another red-bearded barbarian."'[155]
> Ejō: 'Among the many permitted [answers to] *shinjin* [*datsuraku*], there is this kind of *shinjin*.'[156]

This conversation has been quoted in full because it reveals three practices usually thought to be incongruous with Dōgen Zen. It implies: (1) that Gikai had been occupied with Dōgen's words during his

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[154]In modern Sōtō *datsuraku shinjin* usually represents the transcending of any dichotomy between *shinjin datsuraku* and non-enlightenment. In this example, however, Gikai seems to be using this word reversal in a different sense (see below).

[155]These words suppoably represent the approval of Baijiang Huaihai (Jpn. Hyakujō Ekai; 749-814) for his disciple Huangbo Xiyun (Jpn. Ōbaku Kiun), who attained the same level of attainment but in different form. Although the word order is reversed, both statements ("barbarian beards are red" and "red-bearded are barbarians") express the same meaning. Gikai also seems to have reversed the word order of Dōgen's *shinjin datsuraku* to stress his own unity with Dōgen. Baijiang's "red bearded barbarian" appears numerous times in Dōgen's writings. See, for example, his (a) Chinese-language (*shinji*) *Shōbō genzō* (fasc. 2, no. 2; in *DZZ*, 2:220), (b) *Kōroku* (sec. 3, lec. 212; sec. 4, lec. 314; sec. 5, lec. 402; sec. 7, lec. 482; in *DZZ*, 2:55, 77, 100, 126), and (c) *SBGZ* chaps. "Gyōbustu īgi," "Arakan," and "Dai shugyō" (in *DZZ*, 1:54, 323, 544-51).

[156]*Goyuigon*, entry dated 1255:1:13 (referring to 1255:1:7), in *SBGZST*, 20:826; alt. *DZZ*, 2:503.

meditation, (2) that Ejō used *kōan* instruction as part of the dharma succession process, and (3) that formal quotations of stereotyped expressions were used to test the understanding of the *kōan*. If the *Goyuigon* account is accepted totally at face value, one would be forced either to revise the usual interpretation of Dōgen Zen as a religion of pure meditation or to attempt to argue that both Ejō and Gikai had failed to understand Dōgen's teachings. For this reason the *Goyuigon* as a whole must be viewed with caution.

Yet the text is extremely significant in that this conversation as well as the others cited above depicts the Sōtō school in transition. The *Goyuigon* attempts to directly link Dōgen with the beginnings of three trends that become predominant in medieval Sōtō: the ascendancy of Gikai's line, the emphasis upon patron-based, temple Buddhism, and the acceptance of *kōan* Zen. Also from the standpoint of Dōgen's biography, the *Goyuigon* is the earliest source of the traditional account that Dōgen attained enlightenment upon first hearing *shinjin datsuraku*. Finally, judging from the fact that passages corresponding to the extant version of the *Goyuigon* appear in early Sōtō documents and histories it is probable that the perception of Dōgen's Zen within the early Sōtō school had been influenced by the types of images presented in the *Goyuigon*.[157]

The *Goyuigon* also is the earliest known record of Zen dharma transmission procedures. Regardless of any questions as to how the *Goyuigon*'s doctrinal implications ultimately are to be judged, its value as a source for investigating Zen ceremonial cannot be overlooked.

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[157]Tamamuro Taijō, "Hizumerareta Dōgen," *Risō*, 349 (June 1962): 13-14.

There are no other early Japanese or Chinese records of the means by which formal succession is enacted. Until recently Japanese Zen succession practices have been shrouded in utmost secrecy. The origins of many of the documents and ceremonial of current Japanese Sōtō succession rituals are very obscure. It is extremely difficult if not impossible to determine the degree to which current practices compare to those of historical times or how Japanese practices compare to Chinese ones. While the *Goyuigon*'s textual problems have been detailed above, there is little doubt that some form of the *Goyuigon* originated in Gikai's own record of his dharma inheritance, since another document in Gikai's own handwriting refers to the existence of such a chronicle.[158]

As described in the *Goyuigon*, Gikai's dharma inheritance occurred step-by-step. In the first month of 1254 Ejō began instructing Gikai in the use of special regalia. Nearly a year later on the twenty-third of the twelfth month, Ejō first showed Gikai a succession certificate and began teaching him the dharma-transmission (*denbō*) ceremony. Three weeks later on the thirteenth day of the new year, 1255, that dharma-transmission ceremony was enacted when Ejō formally bestowed Gikai's succession certificate. Yet Ejō did not teach the precept ordination (*jukai*) rituals to Gikai until one month later on the thirteenth of the second month. Only on the following day, the fourteenth, did Ejō announce the completion of the dharma succession. Therefore, the series of initiations required a minimum of two whole months.

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[158] *Gikan fuhōjō*, in *Komonjo*, 2:408-9. This document--which is included as an example of Gikai's handwriting in *Dōgen Zenji shinseki kankei shiryōshū* [abb. *"Shiryōshū"*], supplementary vol. to *SBGZST*, 26:729--refers several times to a more detailed, separate account (*besshi*).

The second noticeable feature of the transmission procedure is the sequence of instruction. First Ejō began instructing Gikai in succession procedures (1254:12), afterwards Gikai attained his insight into the meaning of *shinjin datsuraku* (1255:1:7), one week later the succession certificate was presented (1254:1:13), and last Ejō taught Gikai the ceremonies for administering the bodhisattva precepts (1255:2:13). Note that the dharma transmission concluded only after the precept ordination procedures had been passed down. This sequence implies the existence of an inherent unity between instruction in precept ceremonial and dharma transmission in the Zen taught by Dōgen and Ejō.[159] Also note that if Gikai's *shinjin-datsuraku* insight represented the point at which he attained enlightenment under Ejō, as stated by Gikai's disciple Keizan,[160] then the *Goyuigon* has the dharma transmission being initiated even before Gikai's enlightenment had occurred. Or this sequence also could imply that initiation into the meaning of this special *kōan* occurred as part of the dharma-transmission process. Again that would be a doubtful point, since it seems to presuppose practices that probably developed much later.

Apart from Gikai's insight into *shinjin datsuraku*, an alternate interpretation of Gikai's spiritual development as depicted in the *Goyuigon* also is possible. Kuromaru Kanji has noted a link between Gikai's concluding statements in the *Goyuigon*, proclaiming his confidence in Dōgen's Buddhism, and Dōgen's final admonitions to Gikai

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[159]A similar conclusion, but argued from a different perspective has been reached by Kuromaru Kanji, "Denkai to denbō ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu: 'Eihei shitsuchū monsho' wo chūshin to shite" *SG*, 5 (1963): 104-6.

[160]*Gosoku ryakuki*, in *JDZ*, 414.

eighteen months earlier that also are recorded in the *Goyuigon.*[161] That the *Goyuigon* contains any criticisms of Gikai by Dōgen is surprising in light of the document's overall favorable emphasis on Gikai. Yet the *Goyuigon* records that on three occasions Dōgen warned Gikai to develop more "grandmotherly kindness" (*rōbashin*).[162] In his *Tenzo kyōkun,* Dōgen also had stressed the importance of this mental attitude, describing grandmotherly kindness in terms of a parent's selfless devotion:

> Unmindful of their own expenses, they think only of their child's development; unmindful of their own chills or fever, they cover or shade their child.[163]

Gikai, having served as monastic cook, must have known the importance Dōgen placed upon selfless striving. At first glance, there seems to be no apparent reason for his having recorded Dōgen's reprimands. Gikai, however, underlined their significance by writing in the *Goyuigon*: ". . . I will not forget these admonitions even though I do not yet know their cause."[164]

A clue indicating that cause lies in the conversation between Gikai and Ejō condemning the antinomianism of the Darumashū that we cited earlier (see chapter 2). As related in the *Goyuigon,* some Darumashū monks had taught that any action, even the mere lifting of a hand or moving of a leg embodies Buddhism. This interpretation of enlightenment as naturalistic freedom directly challenged the ethical basis of Dōgen's religion. As we saw above, Ejō responded to these

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[161]"Tettsū Zenji ni okeru shūgijō no ichi mondai: Toku ni 'rōbashin' to sono kaiketsu ni tsuite," *SG,* 2 (1960): 187-94.

[162]Entries dated 1253:7:8, 1253:7:28, in *SBGZST,* 20:821, 822; alt. *DZZ,* 2:498, 499.

[163]*DZZ,* 2:302.

[164]Entry dated 1253:7:8, in *SBGZST,* 20:821; alt. *DZZ,* 2:498.

Darumashū ideas with harsh condemnation. About three weeks later Gikai finally informed Ejō of his new confidence in Dōgen's teachings:

> This past year or so, I have been reflecting on the lectures I heard given by our former teacher [Dōgen]. Even though I heard all of them from our former teacher, now they are different [in meaning] than at first. This difference concerns [the assertion that] the Buddhism transmitted by our teacher is [the correct] performance of one's present monastic tasks. Even though I had heard that Buddhist ritual is Buddhism, in my heart I privately felt that true Buddhism must reside apart from this. Recently, however, I have changed my views. I [now] know that monastic ritual and deportment themselves are that true Buddhism. Even if apart from these, there also is the infinite Buddhism of the Buddhas and patriarchs still it all is the very same Buddhism. I have attained true confidence in this profound principle that apart from the lifting of an arm or the moving of a leg within one's Buddhist deportment there can be no other reality.[165]

Gikai realized that there is a crucial difference between the idea that Buddhism encompasses all actions and Dōgen's teaching that every action must be performed as Buddhism. The monks criticized by Ejō had believed that no rules of behavior should be followed because our inherent enlightenment encompasses all actions, even evil deeds. In contrast to their view, Dōgen taught that the Zen monastic rules embodied the only true method of expressing our inherent enlightenment. Seen from the outside, in both cases the lifting of an arm or moving of a leg appears the same but the religious meanings expressed by these actions differ completely. Gikai's realization that there can be no Buddhism separate from one's wholehearted participation in monastic life finally resolved the *"kōan"* presented by Dōgen's admonitions for his lack of grandmotherly kindness. For Dōgen this grandmotherly kindness entailed not just a kind concern for others, but also a single-minded devotion to Buddhism. In the *Tenzo kyōkun* cited above, Dōgen wrote:

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[165] *Goyuigon*, entry dated 1255:2:2, in *SBGZST*, 20:827; alt. *DZZ*, 2:503-4.

"Be as mindful of the Three Treasures [i.e., the Buddha, his teachings, and his order of monks] as [a parent] would be mindful of an only child." Gikai's awakening to this actualization of Buddhism within daily activities probably helps explain why his line never emphasized the textual study of Dōgen's writings. Although Gikai did occasionally refer to Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* in instructing his disciples, for him Dōgen's Buddhism was expressed by actions not words.

Concern with Zen monastic ritual also marked the next major event in Gikai's career: the completion of Eiheiji's buildings and the expansion of its monastic codes. As mentioned earlier, Eiheiji comprised only a few buildings during Dōgen's lifetime.[166] After his death, at first no one knew either the proper design or the correct use of the then unbuilt monastic structures. Gikai assumed the task of acquiring that information. An early history depicts Ejō as ordering Gikai to bring back a record of the latest monastic code in use at Jingdesi (the monastery where Dōgen had studied under Rujing) as well as the regulations in use at other major Chinese monasteries. According to this account Ejō told Gikai that his efforts to build a flourishing Eiheiji would not only repay his debts of gratitude to Dōgen, but would also fulfill the wishes of Dōgen's former teachers, Rujing and Eisai.[167]

This statement--while not necessarily Ejō's own words--reveals in the early Eiheiji community two attitudes: a desire to complete Dōgen's transmission of Chinese Chan, and an acceptance of Eisai as a proper role model. The reference to Eisai as justification for Gikai's

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[166] *Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:13b; and Nakaseko, *DZD*, 373-76.

[167] *Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:17b.

activities helps explain the background of the introduction of Rinzai elements into early Japanese Sōtō. Although scholars have emphasized the Rinzai links of the Darumashū, the influence of Eisai and Myōzen should not be minimized. Dōgen had criticized many types of practice, including ones associated with Eisai's Kenninji and the Darumashū. As revealed by the conversations between Ejō and Gikai, these criticisms would have limited the lingering influence of doctrines taught by the Darumashū. Yet at the same time, Dōgen spoke of Eisai and Myōzen by name only with praise. Among Dōgen's disciples his praise of Eisai seems to have left a more lasting impression than his criticisms of Eisai's Zen.[168] Ejō's statement also suggests a desire to have for Eiheiji all the same facilities as the new Chinese-style Zen monastery then being built in Kamakura by Lanxi Daolong (Rankei Dōryū; 1213-1278).

Gikai attempted to insure his safe return from China by carving, but not decorating, wooden images of two esoteric Buddhist divinities. Instead of immediately adorning the images, Gikai attempted to attain the assistance and protection of these divinities during his trip to China in exchange for his promise to properly ornament and consecrate the images upon his safe return to Japan. Gikai also vowed that in the event of his drowning at sea he would in his next life complete his task and ornament the images. The images that Gikai carved were of two bodhisattvas found within the *Taizō* (Womb) *maṇḍala:* Nyoirin Kannon (i.e., Avalokiteśvara--with a wish-fulfilling jewel) and Kokūzō.[169] Each of these bodhisattvas was believed to ward off harm.

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[168]Kagamishima Genryū, "Ejō Zenji to Eisai Zenji," 46-48; and "Shoki Sōtō kyōdan ni okeru Eisai Zenji no ichi," *SG*, 11 (1969): 19-22.

[169]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:18.

Of the two, however, Kokūzō attracts our immediate attention since the tradition of meditation on this bodhisattva dates back to the Jinenchishū of Nara times. Gikai's disciple Keizan also enshrined images of Kannon and Kokūzō along with Shaka (Skt. Śākyamuni) at Yōkōji, the temple he later founded in Noto.[170] Yet Gikai's belief in the magical effectiveness of traditional Buddhist formulae was not greater than that found among Dōgen's other disciples--or among the population at large. The *Gosho*, for example, also includes the text of a magical chant (Skt. *dhāraṇī*) presumably taught by Senne and Kyōgō for relieving toothaches.[171]

Gikai is said to have spent more than three years in China from 1259 to 1262.[172] In China Gikai probably toured the major state-supported monasteries, studying Chinese ritual practices. Details of Gikai's travels are unknown. In fact, there is no hard proof that he ever journeyed outside of Japan. Gikai would have had difficulty financing a voyage to China because of his lack of status as a rural monk without strong family connections in either the capital or Kamakura. The only mention of Gikai's travels is an assertion made by Keizan that Yanqi Guangwen (Enkei Kōmon, 1189-1263)--a well-known master of the Dahui-Linji line--had exhorted Gikai to promote Sōtō Zen in

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[170]Keizan, *Tōkokuki*, 1432 Daijōji Ms., in *SG*, 16 (1974): 236b, 239a; alt. in *JDZ*, 395, 398. This 1432 Daijōji Ms. differs greatly from the *JDZ* version--so much so that dates or other internal identification for the entries contained therein cannot be cited. For a chart of these differences, see Matsuda Fumio, "'Tōkokuki' no kenkyū," in *Keizan Zenji kenkyū* (Tokyo: Keizan Zenji Hōsan Kankōkai, 1974), 834-41.

[171]*Shōbō genzōshō*, fasc. 31, "Bussetsu jūshikyō," in *SBGZST*, 14:632-33.

[172]*Shōtōshiki*, in *Gikai sōki*, in *ZSZ*, 2. *Shingi*, 6.

Japan.[173] Later tradition has associated Gikai with the transmission to Japan of several texts of obscure origin stored at Daijōji (a temple later founded by Gikai). These texts include the *Gozan jissatsuzu* (Illustrations of the Five Mountains and Ten Temples), the *Ichiya hekiganroku*, and the *Rokuso dankyō* (Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch).

No positive evidence exists, however, linking Gikai to any of these texts. Instead, there is much stronger evidence suggesting alternative origins. The manuscripts of the *Gozan jissatsuzu* and *Ichiya hekiganroku* were not brought to Daijōji from Eiheiji until after 1340, more than thirty years after Gikai's death.[174] Moreover, both of these texts probably predate Gikai's trip to China. The latest date in *Gozan jissatsuzu* is 1247, indicating that it was completed if not brought to Japan about that time. Likewise since Jingdesi suffered a major fire in 1256, the depictions of that temple in the *Gozan jissatsuzu* could not have been drawn by Gikai in 1259.[175] Regarding the *Ichiya hekiganroku*, a partial copy of this text in Ejō's handwriting indicates that the text originally had been possessed by Ejō--if not by Dōgen as traditionally

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[173]*Gosoku ryakuki*, in *JDZ*, 415. This same information also is contained in the 1650 version of the *Eihei sanso gyōjōki* owned by the Koma family. At first glance, therefore, this might seem to provide independent collaboration. Closer examination reveals, however, that this Koma Ms. actually combines text from the first part of the *Eihei sanso gyōjōki* and last part of the *Gosoku ryakuki*. See Azuma Ryūshin, "Komashi shozō 'Eihei sanso gyōjōki' no shōkai," *SG*, 27 (1985): 3, 4-6 nn. 5-6.

[174]Concerning the *Ichiya hekiganroku*, see *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 126. Concerning the *Gozan jissatsuzu*, see Yokoyama Hideo, *Zen no kenchiku* (Tokyo: Shōkokusha, 1967), 47.

[175]Ishikawa Rikizan, "Gikai Zenji no denki," 244. Note that manuscript now stored at Daijōji dates to the fifteenth century.

claimed.[176] In fact, it is possible that both the *Ichiya hekiganroku* and the *Rokuso dankyō* were transmitted within the Darumashū well before Gikai went to China.[177] If so, then Dōgen's rejection of the *Rokuso dankyō* would represent one of his criticisms of the Darumashū.[178]

After returning to Eiheiji, Gikai was responsible for the construction of new buildings and the introduction of new rituals.[179] The construction consisted of the main gate (*sanmon*) and the two walled corridors that lead away from the gate at right angles on either side. With the gate and walls in place, Eiheiji would assume the appearance of a true monastery with enclosed grounds separated from the secular world. This gate also probably would have housed various devotional images in its second story.[180] The images enshrined by Gikai included the three main images in the Buddha Hall (presumably, Śākyamuni Buddha with two bodhisattvas), images of the local guardian spirits (*dojijin*) and images of three Zen patriarchs. Because both the shrines for the guardian spirits and for the patriarchs are attached on either side of the Buddha

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[176]*Hekiganshū dankan* (1280), Eiheiji DS, in *Shiryōshū*, *SBGZST*, 26:703-5. Takeuchi Micho argues that the existence of this fragment of the *Hekiganroku* in Ejō's handwriting supports the traditional account of Dōgen's transmission of the text, while Kagamishima still voices reservations against linking this text to Dōgen. See Takeuchi, "Zoku Eihei Dōgen to 'Hekiganshū': Ichiyahon 'Hekiganshū dankan' no hakken ni chinamite," in *Nihon shūkyōshi ronshū*, ed. Kasahara Kazuo Hakase Kanreki Kinenkai (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1976), 404-43; "Futatabi Dōgen Zenji no Ichiya Hekigan shōrai ni tsuite: Kagamishima Genryū hakase no kōsetsu ni kotaeru," *SG*, 19 (1977): 22-27; and Kagamishima, "Dōgen Zenji no zaisōchū," 318-21.

[177]See note 143 above and Ōkubo, *DZDKK*, 545-47.

[178]*SBGZ*, "Shizen biku" chap.; in *DZZ*, 1:708.

[179]This account is based upon *Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:18.

[180]Yokoyama, *Zen no kenchiku*, 128.

Hall, where the main images also reside, Gikai probably had to construct this building as well. The new rituals codified by Gikai included four ceremonies: (1) seasonal sūtra chanting (*shisetsu raigi*), (2) the sounding of the twenty-five divisions of the night (*shogo kōten*), (3) after-meals sūtra chanting (*shukuha fugin*), and (4) enrollment of newly arrived monks (*kata gishiki*). Gikai's introduction of new sūtra chanting ceremonies and of a new shrine dedicated to the guardian spirits of the monastery often is cited as major breaks with what some scholars idealistically portray as Dōgen's "pure Zen."[181]

It is an exaggeration, however, to see these as the beginnings of a trend toward esoteric or "corrupt" Buddhism. The shrine for guardian spirits as well as the special prayers to be offered in their presence already appear in the oldest extant Chinese Chan monastic code, the *Chanyuan qinggui*.[182] Dōgen also had described the ritual prayers of thanks offered to the guardian spirits in his *Shōbō genzō* chapter "Ango" that explains how to conduct the summer training session.[183] More than once Dōgen instructed the monastic cook to recite scripture as a prayer for the god of the hearth (*sōkō shinsai*)--a divinity originating in

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[181]For example, see Sahashi Hōryū, *Ningen Keizan* (1974; rev. edn., Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1979), 29; Takeuchi Michio, *Nihon no Zen* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1976), 184; and Kōchi Eigaku, "Keizan Zenji no mikkyōteki hairyo to sono raiyū" (1960); rpt. in *Dōgen Zenji to Sōtōshū*, ed. Kawamura Kōdō and Ishikawa Rikizan, Nihon Bukkyō Shūshi Ronshū, 8 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1985), 186-87.

[182]Fasc. 2, "Niansong" (Jpn. "Nenju"), "Jiexia" ("Ketsuge") and "Jiexia" ("Kaige"); fasc. 7, "Zunsu ruyuan" ("Sonshuku nyūin"); and fasc. 9, "Shami shoujiewen" ("Shami jukaimon"); rev. edn., *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 76-77, 86-87, 91, 256-57, 297.

[183]*DZZ*, 1:574-75.

ancient Chinese folk beliefs.[184] Likewise, Dōgen also included instructions for collective scripture chanting ceremonies to be conducted by the community of monks at the beginning of the summer training session (thirteenth day of the fourth month).[185] This ceremony corresponds to the first of the four seasonal chanting rituals initiated by Gikai.[186] Yet this ceremony, unlike the guardian spirits or the god of the hearth, is not included in the *Chanyuan qinggui* usually followed by Dōgen. This type of discrepancy between the old Chinese regulations and Dōgen's own rituals indicates that Dōgen also had adopted the latest Chinese practices without being strictly faithful to the letter of the Chinese codes that he quoted so frequently in his writings.[187]

Likewise, Gikai merely increased the frequency of religious ceremonies that already had existed in Dōgen's own time. Certainly Gikai's new monastic calendar with its sūtra-chanting services after each meal, gave increased emphasis to ritual. The real issue, however, is not the rituals themselves, but the religious ends for which the rituals are practiced. Because each sūtra-chanting ceremony ends with the recitation of a declaration (*ekō*) directing the merit of the service toward a particular goal, each ritual has an immediate, well-defined purpose. Dōgen defined that purpose only in terms of the promotion of

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[184] *Tenzo kyōkun*, in *DZZ*, 2:296; and *Chiji shingi* (1246), in *DZZ*, 2:343.

[185] *SBGZ*, "Ango" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:573-74.

[186] According to the *Tōkoku shingi*, fasc. 2, these seasonal sūtra chanting ceremonies are conducted on the thirteenth day of the fourth and seventh lunar months, on the day before the winter solstice during the eleventh lunar month, and on the day before the last day of the year. See *SZ*, 2, *Shūgen*, 2:677-78, 688b, 693b, 696a; alt. in *JDZ*, 325-28, 346, 357, 362.

[187] Kagamishima Genryū, "Dōgen Zenji to in'yō shingi," 17 n. 5.

Buddhist practice. By Keizan's time, rituals were directed not only toward spiritual goals but also toward the prosperity of the temple patrons and the protection of the state. In spite of the claims made by some scholars, the available records contain no indication as to where Gikai stood between these two extremes.

Confusion also surrounds Gikai's subsequent career at Eiheiji. Later sources contain events not mentioned in earlier sources. Modern scholars offer many differing interpretations of these problems. Rather than listing all possible sequence of events, the following account describes only the interpretation indicated in the earliest sources. At the end of this chapter, after introducing two more of Dōgen's major disciples (Gien and Jakuen), the implications contained in the alternative histories found in later sources will be examined.[188]

Gikai became the third abbot of Eiheiji in 1267 when Ejō retired from that post, pleading illness.[189] Ejō may well have been suffering declining health. He had served as abbot for fifteen years since Dōgen's death in 1253 and since 1261 had ceased his copying of Dōgen's writings.[190] Yet Gikai assumed the abbotship only after being requested to do so by Eiheiji's principal patrons, Hatano Shigemichi

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[188]By "early sources," I am referring to *Daison gyōjōki*, *Shōtōshiki*, and *Gosoku ryakuki*, as well as the documents written by Gikai included in *Komonjo*. While none of these are totally free of textual problems, they must be given foremost consideration because of their close relationship to Gikai's disciple Keizan. The events not included in these accounts pertain to the so-called *"sandai sōron."*

[189]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:15a-b, 18a.

[190]No references to copies by Ejō exist after 1261 until 1275 (*SBGZ* "Busshō" and "Arakan" chaps., in *DZZ*, 1:35, 326). See appendix 1.

(a.k.a. Kongo) and Fujiwara Masatsugu (a.k.a. Shakuen).[191] This type of patron interference in monastic appointments was common among warrior family temples (*ujidera*). The selection of Gikai upon the intervention of a couple of patrons suggests that Eiheiji remained very dependent upon the personal goodwill of its main patrons. Once in office Gikai served a very successful term as abbot, winning acclaim as the restorer of Eiheiji. Details of his activities remain unknown, except for one very propitious encounter: in 1271 Keizan Jōkin (then just seven years old) entered Eiheiji to receive the tonsure from Gikai.[192] One year later Gikai retired from Eiheiji after having served less than five years as abbot. Near Eiheiji he constructed a private hermitage in which to care for his aged mother. For the next twenty years he lived in relative seclusion (until moving to Daijōji), appearing at Eiheiji only as necessary. How Gikai provided for both himself and his mother during this period is not recorded.

Gikai's retirement left the Eiheiji abbotship vacant. Kenzei, the author of the fifteenth-century Sōtō history known as *Kenzeiki*,

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[191] *Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:15b. Regarding the identities of the Hatano Izumo-no-kami Jirō Kongo and Kasan'in Saishō Zennmon Shakuen named in this source, see Kawamura, "Dōgen Zenji to Eiheiji," 100; and Nakaseko, *DZD*, 412. For alternative (though not likely) identifications also see Seki Kōkyū, "Dōgen Zenji to dan'otsu Hatanoshi ni tsuite," *SG*, 21 (1979): 117; and Ōkubo, *DZDKK*, 255.

[192] Keizan, *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:238b; alt. in *JDZ*, 395. This date assumes 1264 as Keizan's year of birth (instead of 1268). The discovery of the 1432 Daijōji Ms. of the *Tōkokuki* provided the initial clue that 1264 must be the correct year, but all of Keizan's historical writings become extremely consistent with other sources only if 1264 is used. See Matsuda Fumio, "'Tōkokuki' no kenkyū," 859-70; "Keizan Zenji seju gojū hassaisetsu ni taisuru shiken," *SG*, 13 (1974): 65-70; and Yamahata Shōdō, "Kokiroku ni miru Keizan Zenji no go nenrei ni tsuite," *SG*, 13 (1974): 87-92.

assumed that Ejō must have resumed the abbotship after Gikai.[193] The evidence speaks against this, however, since when Gikai retired, Ejō then relinquished to Gikai the title of Retired Abbot (*tōdō*) while assuming for himself the lesser title of Prior (*tassu*).[194] Moreover Keizan clearly identified Ejō as a former abbot in 1276 when he (Keizan) formally became a monk.[195] Immediately following Gikai's retirement, Ejō is reported to have admonished the community of monks during the summer training period for their not having treated Gikai with sufficient respect. This incident has led some scholars to propose that Ejō performed the duties of abbot while still nominally a prior.[196] Early sources, however, contain no references to Ejō having resumed any official functions at Eiheiji. Even if Ejō did lecture during that training period, he probably did so in an informal capacity. After all, Ejō had stated that he relinquished the title of Retired Abbot to Gikai not merely in order to avoid the confusion that would be caused by two people having the same title, but mainly for his own self-effacement during his retirement.[197] Ejō easily could have been active in Eiheiji's affairs without having to become abbot twice. Therefore it is likely that the third abbot of Eiheiji, Gien, assumed his post sometime in 1272.

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[193]In *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 105.

[194]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:15b. For an analysis of the sources used to support or deny Kenzei's theory, see Matsuda Fumio, "Sandai sōron no imi suru mono," *SG*, 15 (1973): 155-57.

[195]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:238; alt. in *JDZ*, 369.

[196]Ōkubo, *DZDKK*, 428; and Takeuchi Michio, *Koun Ejō Zenjiden*, 270.

[197]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:15b.

Gikai inherited Dōgen's dharma robe from Ejō just before Ejō's death in 1280. Ejō had kept the robe always next to his own body for a period of twenty-seven years from the time that he (Ejō) had received the robe from Dōgen, a month before Dōgen's death. Then nine days before his own death, he gave it to Gikai. Gikai interpreted this as a testament that he was foremost among Ejō's disciples.[198] Gikai officiated at Ejō's funeral and held regular memorial services for Ejō for the next seven years. Based on these activities by Gikai, the fifteenth-century historian Kenzei again argued that Gikai also assumed a second term as abbot following Ejō's second term as abbot.[199] If so, then the abbotship of Eiheiji would have passed from Ejō to Gikai, then from Gikai back to Ejō and finally from Ejō back to Gikai. Such a circular succession process is completely without precedent. Moreover as in the case with Ejō's supposed second term, no source earlier than Kenzei contains any indication that Gikai had assumed such duties at Eiheiji. We know that Gien had already become abbot before Ejō passed away, because Hatano Shigemichi referred to Gien as abbot when he addressed the Eiheiji community in 1287.[200] It is extremely unlikely that Gien would have been forced to relinquish his abbotship just because Gikai conducted memorial services for Ejō.[201]

Gikai moreover seems to have had continued difficulty in garnishing the support of all the monks at Eiheiji, in spite of his

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[198][Gikai], *Jōkin hōe fuzokujō* (1309:9), in *Komonjo*, no. 669, 1:527.

[199]*Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 111-12.

[200]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:18.

[201]Ishikawa Rikizan, "Gikai Zenji no denki," 246; and "Sandai sōron ni tsuite," in *Eiheijishi*, 212.

having inherited Dōgen's robe. He was said to have became embroiled in a dispute with other monks who were followers of Jakuen.[202] The cause or nature of this dispute is unclear since Jakuen himself had already left Eiheiji in 1261 while Gikai was still in China.[203] Perhaps some monks might have felt that Gikai's memorial services for Ejō somehow had slighted Jakuen because Jakuen also was Ejō's dharma heir and originally had been in charge of Eiheiji's memorial hall, Jōyōan. To quiet the disturbance, Hatano Tokimitsu was forced to repeat Ejō's earlier admonition of 1272, criticizing the monks' lack of respect for Gikai. Hatano is reported as even threatening to shift his financial support directly to Gikai.[204] This threat represents a remarkable degree of interference in Eiheiji's affairs. Eiheiji had lost much independence by being dependent upon only a few major patrons. Hatano Tokimitsu's protestations were in vain, however, since after 1287 Gikai seems to have completely withdrawn from Eiheiji.

In 1293 Gikai formally became abbot of Daijōji in neighboring

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[202]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:18. The text refers only to a "Mr. En" ("Enkō"), but clearly alludes to Jakuen since the same text (p. 16a) also identifies Mr. En as the founder of Hōkyōji, Jakuen's temple.

[203]Kenkō, *Hōkyō yuishoki* (ca.1457-1468), in *Komonjo*, no. 1709, 2:618.

[204]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:18. This statement is problematical since Tokimitsu also is recorded as having prophesied that Eiheiji's dharma line would fail if Gikai was allowed to leave. Such accurate prophesy suggests that these words were attributed to Tokimitsu at a later date after Gien had died (ca.1313) without producing an heir.

Kaga.[205] Daijōji originally had been built in 1261 as a small warrior family temple by Togashi Iehisa (d.1329), the head of a Fujiwara-line family collateral to the Inazu Fujiwara-line family to which Gikai probably had belonged.[206] Iehisa originally had built Daijōji to house an image of Dainichi (Skt. Vairocana) Buddha supposably carved by an early mountain mystic (i.e., *zenji*) named Taichō (682-767). Because Dainichi is the main Buddha in esoteric practice, Iehisa enlisted a master of the esoteric rituals (i.e., a Shingon *ajari;* Skt. *ācārya*) named Chōkai to serve as the temple's first abbot.[207] Chōkai previously had been an abbot of Hajakuji, the temple at which Ekan and the other Darumashū members had sought refuge. Moreover, we can assume that he must have been Hajakuji's abbot when Gikai first received tonsure there because he (Chōkai) referred to himself as Gikai's teacher.[208] With

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[205] *Shōtōshiki*, in *Gikai sōki*, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 6. In this instance, the era date is correct (the first year of Einin; i.e., 1293) while the sexagesimal sign is mistakenly printed as *kigai* (the thirty-sixth; i.e., 1299) instead of *kishi* (the thirtieth; i.e., 1293). The *Shōtōshiki* states that Gikai lived in seclusion from 1272 until 1292, founded Daijōji in 1293, and retired from Daijōji in 1298. This last date agrees with Keizan's autobiographical statement that he (Keizan) became the second abbot of Daijōji at age 34 (i.e., 1298). Daijōji originally had been located near the Sodemori Hamlet (present-day Nonoichi Mura, Ishikawa Pref.), but during the Tokugawa period was moved to its present location in Kanazawa City.

[206] Ishikawa Rikizan, "Gikai Zenji no denki," 228.

[207] Date Zannō (1867-1947), *Kaga Daijōjishi*, ed. Shimode Sekiyo and Azuma Ryūshin (Kanazawa City, Ishikawa Pref.: Hokkoku Shuppansha, 1971), 47. Chōkai probably held no institutional affiliation to the Shingon school.

[208] *Chōkai ihai*, Hajakuji mortuary plaque, rpt. in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Echizen Hajakuji no yukue," *SG*, 28 (1986): 110. Kuriyama Taion first discovered this plaque in 1911 (*Gakusan shiron*, 41). Ishikawa, however, presents a more faithful reproduction of the format of the plaque and reads *"dentō"* (transmitter of the light) where Kuriyama had *"hōtō"* (dharma light). When Kuriyama introduced this plaque, he adopted a very forced reading of its inscription. According to Kuriyama, the inscription on the plaque refers to Gikai even though the plaque itself refers to Chōkai. In this way, Kuriyama argued that it was Gikai who had been abbot of Hajakuji and teacher to Chōkai.

Chōkai acting as go-between, Gikai was invited to convert Daijōji to a Zen temple sometime around 1292. At that time Chōkai relinquished the title of "Founding Abbot" (*kaisan*) to Gikai, assuming for himself the title of "Founding Patron" (*kaiki*). In spite of Chōkai's change in title, the true patron of Daijōji remained Togashi Iehisa.

In 1293 when Gikai formally became abbot, presumably he already had constructed a proper Zen-style monk's meditation hall (*sōdō*). Few details of Gikai's term as abbot of Daijōji are known beyond the names of his early disciples. Keizan Jōkin was the first to join Gikai's new Zen community, attaining within a short time the office of supervisor of the monk's hall (*shuso*). In 1294 Meihō Sotetsu (1277-1350) joined Keizan at Daijōji.[209] A year later, Gasan Jōseki (1276-1366) also joined the Daijōji community.[210] During the first month of that same

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Kuriyama's interpretation, however, is unacceptable. In terms of both grammar and format the inscription on Chōkai's mortuary plaque clearly refers to Chōkai. Also no sources indicate that Gikai had ever been abbot of Hajakuji. His early biographies all state that he spent twenty years in seclusion after leaving Eiheiji Although Kuriyama saw Gikai as Chōkai's superior, Gikai's appointment to replace Chōkai as abbot of Daijōji actually is easier to understand if Chōkai had been Gikai's superior. If Chōkai had been at Hajakuji in 1231 when Gikai was twelve years old, then by 1290 he would have been quite old and ready to retire. Gikai had been to China and had become the leader of the new Japanese Sōtō Zen lineage. It is not unreasonable to believe that an aged Chōkai would abdicate his position in favor of a former student who had surpassed his own accomplishments. Kuriyama once had asserted that historical inquiry must never be allowed to threaten the foundations of traditional religious faith (*Gakusan shiron*, p. 10). In this case, apparently he allowed his faith to guide his history.

209[Keizan Jōkin], *Sotetsu hōe sōden hōgo* (1323:1:19), in *Komonjo*, no. 674, 1:533-34. This date is based upon Keizan's statement in 1323 that Sotetsu had been with him for 29 years.

210[Keizan Jōkin], *Jōkin yuzurijō* (1324:7:7), in *Komonjo*, no. 47, 1:35. Each biography of Gasan differs as to the time and place of Keizan and Gasan's first meeting. This date is based upon Keizan's statement in 1324 that Gasan had been with him for twenty-nine years.

year, 1295, Gikai bestowed Keizan with his dharma lineage as well as the robe that had been handed down from Dōgen to Ejō.[211] Finally in 1298 Gikai gave up all remaining monastic duties, allowing Keizan to succeed to Daijōji's abbotship.[212]

Gikai stayed at Daijōji for the remainder of his life. He seems to have actively instructed the community of monks and supervised Keizan's activities. For example, he recommended to Keizan that Meihō be selected to receive Dōgen's dharma robe. Keizan followed this advice in 1311--only two years after Gikai's death--by bequeathing to Meihō not only Dōgen's dharma robe but also the abbotship of Daijōji.[213] This suggests that Meihō's position as Keizan's premier disciple was partly due to Gikai's influence. Gikai also seems to have copied scripture and instructed Keizan in Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*.[214] When Gikai's health began

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[211][Gikai], *Jōkin hōe fuzokujō*, in *Komonjo*, 1:527. In this instance, the sexagesimal sign is correct (*"otsubi,"* the thirty-second; i.e., 1295), while the era date is incorrect (the second year of Einin; i.e., 1294). Only 1295 agrees with Keizan's autobiographical statement that he (Keizan) succeeded to Gikai's lineage at age 31 (i.e., 1295). See *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:238; alt. in *JDZ*, 369.

[212]Keizan, *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:238; alt. in *JDZ*, 369; and *Shōtōshiki*, in *Gikai sōki*, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 6.

[213]Keizan, Postscript (1311:10:10), *Jōkin hōe fuzokujō* (1309:9), in *Komonjo*, no. 669, 1:528. Gikai's advice is mentioned in the description of a subsequent ceremonial presentation of a robe to Sotetsu at Yōkōji in 1323. According to the chronology contained in the account of this ceremony, Sotetsu had inherited Keizan's dharma in 1302. See [Keizan Jōkin], *Sotetsu hōe sōden hōgo* (1323:1:19), in *Komonjo*, no. 674, 1:533-34. According to traditional Sōtō accounts, however, Sotetsu is said to have inherited Keizan's dharma in either 1321 or 1323 and inherited the abbotship of Daijōji in 1337. This confusion over the correct sequence of events is due to three main causes: (1) earlier scholars not having had access to the above documents, (2) the lack of reliable information concerning Kyōō Unryō's term as abbot of Daijōji prior to 1337, and (3) sectarian attempts to give seniority to Gasan Jōseki.

[214]See, for example, Keizan, *Gosoku ryakuki*, in *JDZ*, 416; and Gikai, *Gikan fuhōjō*, in *Komonjo*, 2:408.

to fail in 1306, he also bequeathed to Keizan his Darumashū transmission documents to further authenticate the legitimacy of Keizan's Sōtō lineage. This demonstrates that Gikai had never renounced his Darumashū lineage. In fairness, one must also note that he had not especially clung to it either. In deeding the documents to Keizan, he used the words "our lineage" to refer to the Sōtō line only. It is incorrect, therefore, to assume that Keizan inherited Gikai's Darumashū lineage.[215] In 1309, the second day of the ninth month, Gikai insisted upon administering the tonsure to all of Daijōji's lay workers. Twelve days later he died. Complete details of his funeral arrangements and an inventory of his possessions were reported to Eiheiji.[216] Because the activities of Keizan Jōkin, Meihō Sotetsu and Gasan Jōseki are so important in later Sōtō developments, the careers of these disciples will constitute the theme of the following chapter.

Gien: The Unknown Abbot

Gien (d. ca.1313) is the most obscure of Dōgen's major disciples. Even though Gien succeeded Gikai as Eiheiji's fourth abbot and led the Eiheiji community probably for a longer period of time than any other abbot, details of his life and career are all but unknown. Because Gien failed to produce disciples able to propagate his dharma lineage, no records survive concerning his role in crucial early developments. Without hard evidence, Sōtō historians beginning with

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[215]Gikai, *Gikan fuhōjō*, in *Komonjo*, 2:408-9; and *Gikai fuhōjō*, in *Komonjo*, 1:526. Gikai's language in these documents clearly distinguishes between the Darumashū "transmission" that Gikai had received, and the "giving" to Keizan of his old Darumashū succession document. Keizan had received only Gikai's old documents, not a new succession document made out in his own name.

[216]*Gikai sōki*, in *ZSZ*, 2. *Shingi*, 1, 6a.

Kenzei in the fifteenth century often have speculated as to what Gien's Zen teachings might have been and as to why he failed to engender a suitable heir. Secondary sources unfortunately have repeated these speculations all too often as evidence for their own further speculations. Therefore it is necessary to emphasize how little can be known with certainty concerning Gien. The following overview of Gien's career describes both those details that can be reasonably accepted and those that cannot.

Gien probably was among the followers of the Darumashū who joined Dōgen in 1241, as indicated by the first syllable of his name. At Eiheiji Gien rose to prominence, as can be seen from the fact that he served both as Dōgen's attendant (*jisha*) and as monastic scribe (*shoki*). Following Dōgen's death, he assisted Ejō in organizing and copying Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*. During the summer training period of 1255 he copied the "Kesa Kudoku" and the "Hachi dainingaku" chapters. Gien also worked with Ejō and Senne as one of the three compilers of Dōgen's *goroku*. Gien was responsible for transcribing the formal lectures that Dōgen gave between the ninth month of 1249 and the tenth month of 1252, which constitute three sections of the ten-section text.[217] From these accomplishments, it is clear that Gien ranked as one of Dōgen's leading disciples.

Gien is also counted as one of Ejō's seven dharma heirs.[218] After inheriting Ejō's lineage, he rose first to the position of supervisor of the monk's hall and then became Eiheiji's fourth abbot.

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[217]For Gien's status at Eiheiji, note his titles: (a) *jisha*, in *Kōroku*, secs. 5, 6, 7, in *DZZ*, 2:84, 104, 123; (b) *shoki*, in *SBGZ*, "Kesa kudoku" and "Hachi dainingaku," in *DZZ*, 1:643, 726.

[218]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:15b-16a.

Gien's term as abbot began sometime before 1287, by which time Hatano Tokimitsu is reported to have addressed him by that title,[219] and ended sometime before 1314 when the abbotship was formally offered to Giun.[220] Beyond the above dates, the only other fact of Giun's abbotship known with certainty is that Keizan studied under Gien at Eiheiji in 1292.

At that time, Gien taught Keizan the precept ordination ceremonies. Gien allowed Keizan to copy the text of the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* in the private hermitage built by Dōgen, the Ryōzen'in.[221] Although Ejō had taught the ordination procedures to Gikai, and presumably to Giin and to Gien, only as the final concluding step of the dharma transmission process, Gien seems to have readily initiated Keizan without first accepting Keizan as his heir. Gien and Keizan must have had a close relationship, however, because Keizan had vivid dreams about Gien. Keizan spoke of Gien in familiar terms and saw himself as Gien's personal attendant in one dream many years later in 1321. In his dream, Keizan imagined that Gien gave a lecture at Eiheiji announcing his inner desire never to leave the monastery.[222] While Keizan's accounts of his dreams are not necessarily reliable, probably Gien did live out his natural life without ever retiring from Eiheiji. No additional information concerning Gien is contained in any early

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[219]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:18b.

[220]Giun, *Eiheiji jūjishoku no koto* (1314:9:18), in *Shiryōshū*, *SBGZST*, 26:751. Giun conveyed his initial refusal of the abbotship in this letter.

[221]Keizan Jōkin, "Postscript" (1321:2:1), *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, transmitted 1356:8:1 from Gasan Jōseki to Tsūgen Jakurei, Sōjiji Ms, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 42. Similar content also in found in ibid., Daijōji Ms, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 42; alt. *DZZ*, 2:271.

[222]Keizan, *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:241; alt. in *JDZ*, 401.

sources.[223] The main inferences and conclusions concerning Gien that often have been derived from later sources are summarized below.

Ōkubo Dōshū asserts that Gien was not one of Ejō's proper dharma heirs, but had received only the precept transmission. This assertion rests upon Ōkubo's theory that Dōgen and Ejō taught two separate types of initiations, one (known as *denbō*) which consists of instruction in the rituals for bestowing a dharma lineage (*shihō*) with a formal certificate of succession (*shisho*), and another (known as *denkai*) which consists of instruction in the rituals for precept ordination with the conferring of a precept lineage chart (*kaimyaku*).[224] The relationship between these two initiations within Dōgen Zen is a sensitive issue in the modern Sōtō school. Focusing just on Ejō and his disciples, however, we must note that the same text cited by Ōkubo for distinguishing between Ejō's dharma disciples (*denbō deshi*) and precept disciples (*denkai deshi*) also states that each of these transmitted Ejō's dharma (*denbō*) and precept (*denkai*) lineages.[225] Therefore the text is ambiguous as to the nature of the distinction between these two types of disciples. Perhaps all seven equally transmitted Ejō's lineage, while some were more versed in the subtleties of one type of transmission than the other.

Even if a more substantive distinction exists between these types of disciples, it is difficult to believe that Gien would have been allowed to become abbot of Eiheiji if at that time his standing among

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[223]Several examples of Gien's handwriting also survive, but all of these are brief and without dates. See *Shiryōshū*, *SBGZST*, 26:744-48.

[224]Ōkubo, *DZDKK*, 242-3, 434-35.

[225]*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:15b.

Ejō's disciples had been perceived as inferior.[226] It is much more likely that the tendency of later historians to slight Gien's accomplishments is due to his having failed to produce any outstanding disciples. Edo period historians embellished this failure with accounts of Gien having retired to a solitary life of seclusion,[227] or of Eiheiji having been destroyed by fire. More recent historians have assumed that Gien must have lost the support of the Hatano family.[228] However, there is no evidence for any of this. No early sources contain any mention either of Gien's later years or of the destruction of Eiheiji by fire during that period.[229] The Hatano family continued to be major patrons of Eiheiji until being vanquished in 1473 by the forces of Asakura Takakage (1428-1481).[230] The Hatano family's support of Gien is demonstrated by the fact that they waited until 1314, presumably the year of Gien's death, before inviting Giun to assume Eiheiji's abbotship. While details are unknown, there is no reason to believe that Eiheiji fell into decline during Gien's term. The available evidence simply does not explain why Gien's line failed.

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[226]Sahashi, *Ningen Keizan*, 104.

[227]Zōsan Ryōki (d.1729), *Jūzoku nichiiki tōjō shosoden*, fasc. 1; and *Rentōroku*, fasc. 1; both in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:151, 240.

[228]For example, Takeuchi Michio, *Koun Ejō Zenjiden*, 104.

[229]Ishikawa Rikizan, "Gien Zenji no jiseki," in *Eiheijishi*, 262-64.

[230]Hirose Ryōkō, "Senkoku no dōran to Eiheiji no saigai," in *Eiheijishi*, 463.

Jakuen: Local Growth and Ties to Eiheiji

Jakuen (Ch. Jiyuan; 1207-1299), the last of Dōgen's major disciples to be considered, was unique in many ways. As a native-born Chinese, Jakuen's native language, world view, and initial training in the Buddhism of the continent set him apart. Jakuen had not been schooled in the unique doctrinal syntheses of Japanese Tendai nor exposed to its political corruption. Dōgen's other disciples all had trained in the Japanese Tendai or Darumashū traditions. From his unique Chinese background, scholars have drawn two contradictory interpretations of Jakuen, namely, that he was the disciple who had clung most strongly to Dōgen's own interpretation of Zen or that he was the individual who introduced "deviant" Chinese practices. Jakuen's lineage neither flourished like those of Giin and Gikai, nor did it fail like those of Senne and Gien. Jakuen's temple, Hōkyōji, survived. And more important, a collateral branch of Jakuen's line entered Eiheiji from Hōkyōji. Beginning in 1314, with Eiheiji's fifth abbot, Giun, Jakuen's dharma descendants dominated Eiheiji until the Tokugawa shogunate's forced reorganization of the Sōtō school (ca.1612).[231] During this period, the policies adopted by Jakuen's descendants at Eiheiji greatly influenced the institutional hierarchy of the medieval Sōtō school, while the records compiled by the Jakuen-line historians

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[231]The last true Jakuen-line abbot at Eiheiji probably was Sokyū (1532-1610), the last person to inherit (1560) the copy of the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* handed down exclusively within the Eiheiji-Jakuen line (*DZZ*, 2:271). After the Tokugawa reorganization forced non-Jakuen line abbots into Eiheiji, each new abbot was required to nominally switch to a Jakuen-dharma lineage until Manzan Dōhaku succeeded in having the practice of changing lineages forbidden in 1703. Thereafter, abbots at Eiheiji were required to inherit a separate Jakuen precept lineage until the Meiji period. See Kuriyama, *Sōjijishi*, 113-14.

Kenkō (1413-ca.1468) and Kenzei have greatly influenced all subsequent understanding of early Sōtō history.

Of Jakuen very little is known. He is not mentioned in any of Dōgen's writings. His earliest biography, the *Hōkyō yuishoki* (ca.1457-1468) by Kenkō, is a sectarian work, written to emphasize Jakuen's closeness to Rujing, and through him, to Dōgen.[232] Kenkō's account of Jakuen's having established a firm relationship with both Rujing and Dōgen while still in China is patently false. According to Kenkō, Jakuen began his religious life at Jingdesi where he received tonsure, full ordination and Zen training under Rujing. Kenkō asserts that Jakuen agreed to become Dōgen's disciple at Jingdesi in 1223--even though at that time Dōgen was just beginning his study in China. In 1227 when Dōgen returned to Japan, Kenkō states that Jakuen accompanied Dōgen to the port hoping to be able to travel with him to Japan. Dōgen, however, advised Jakuen to remain in China so that he would attend to the ailing Rujing. Hence, Jakuen did not arrive in Japan until a year later, after Rujing had passed away. If Kenkō's account is accurate, then Jakuen at that time would have been twenty-one years old, perhaps not yet important enough to attract much attention. Even so, it is surprising that Jakuen's arrival did not warrant any mention in contemporary sources. In 1228 emigré Chinese monks in Japan were quite rare. It is even more surprising that Jakuen, Dōgen's companion from China (according to Kenkō), failed to find mention in any of Dōgen's writings.

These omissions suggest that Jakuen's relationship with Dōgen probably began after Jakuen's arrival in Japan, not in 1228, but after

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[232]In *Komonjo*, no. 1709, 2:617-20

Dōgen began accepting his own disciples at Kōshōji in 1230. At Kōshōji and at Eiheiji Jakuen managed the memorial hall, Jōyōan, where services were performed in honor of Rujing. Jakuen thereby became Eiheiji's first *tassu*, a title by which he was referred to even posthumously.[233] Although *"tassu"* eventually came to refer to the master of a sub-temple within a larger compound (in which sense I have translated it as "prior"), in Jakuen's case it merely refers to the leader of memorial services. If Jakuen had begun his religious career at a young age, then he certainly would have acquired a thorough knowledge of basic scripture and ritual. Because of his youth, however, it is doubtful that Jakuen would have had any experience with Zen monastic offices before leaving China. In Japan, his having served in no offices other than *tassu* could indicate either his high rank (*"tassu"* being a title reserved for elder monks) or his having been unsuitable for other posts. After Dōgen's death, Jakuen eventually succeeded in winning Ejō's approval. As retold by his disciple Giun, Jakuen attained enlightenment upon realizing that the single sound of the lion's roar (i.e., the Buddha's having taught only one true doctrine) is actualized through the diverse cries of the multitude of beasts (i.e., the wide variety of Buddhist practices).[234]

After inheriting Ejō's dharma, Jakuen left Eiheiji in 1261. This occurred at about the same time that other leading monks also were departing from Eiheiji. Gikai left in 1259; Jakuen in 1261; Senne and

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[233]Both Keizan and Shūkō (fl.1445) referred to Jakuen as *tassu*. See *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:238; alt. in *JDZ*, 369; and *Shūkō oshō yuzurijō*, in *Komonjo*, 1:610.

[234]*Giun oshō goroku*, pub. 1357, copied 1684, Cabinet Library Ms., rpt. in Ishikawa Rikizan, ed., "Naikaku bunkobon 'Giun oshō goroku,'" *Sōtōshū kenkyūin kenkyūsei kenkyū kiyō* [abb. *"SKK"*], 8 (1976): 39; or Edo woodblock edn. (1715), in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:9.

Kyōgō before 1263; and Giin in 1264. Only Ejō, Gien, and a few former followers of the Darumashū remained. Jakuen did not follow in the footsteps of the other departing monks. Instead of returning to China or entering the capital, he went further into seclusion. As described by Kenkō, Jakuen retired to a solitary life of meditation at the foot of a peak named Ginnanpō about twenty-five kilometers from Eiheiji where his only companions were wild animals.[235] Jakuen soon obtained financial support from Ijira Tomotoshi (posthumous name, Shinkū), the leader of a local Fujiwara family in charge of the Ōno District. According to Kenkō, Jakuen had first encountered Ijira when the latter chanced upon him during a hunt. It was not until 1278, however, that Tomotoshi's son, Tomonari (posthumous name, Chien) began constructing a proper Zen temple for Jakuen.[236] His temple, Hōkyōji, borrowed its name from the Hōkyō (Ch. Baoqing) era during which Dōgen studied under Rujing. This name suggests that Jakuen had desired to perpetuate the memory of Rujing even after leaving Eiheiji's memorial hall, Jōyōan.[237]

Shortly after 1279 Giun (Jakuen's future dharma heir) joined Hōkyōji. Some sources state that Giun became Jakuen's disciple as early as 1265, but this is unlikely since Hōkyōji had not yet been built.[238]

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[235]Kenkō (1413-ca.1468), *Hōkyō yuishoki* (ca.1457-1468), Hōkyōji Ms. in *Komonjo*, no. 1709, 2:618. Ginnanpō, the site of Hōkyōji, is not to be confused with nearby Genanpō.

[236]The identifications of Ijira Fujiwara Tomotoshi as the layman Shinkū, and his son, Tomonari, as the layman Chien are based on: Ōkubo, *DZDKK*, 308-9; and Maeda Hidehiko, "Giun Zenji to Ijirashi kefu," in *Giun Zenji kenkyū*, 201-3.

[237]Furuta Shōkin, "'Giun oshō goroku' wo megutte: Jakuen to Giun to no aida," in *Giun Zenji kenkyū*, 30.

[238]Mangen Shiban, *Enpō dentōroku*, fasc. 25, in *ZSZ*, 10, *Shiden*, 733.

Moreover, as of 1279 Giun resided at the Shin Zenkōji (an otherwise unknown temple in Echizen) where he copied at least three, maybe all, of the chapters to Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*.[239] Ejō might well have sent Giun to Jakuen.[240] In 1282 Keizan also left Ejō's side to enter Hōkyōji, where he served as the group leader (*inō*) in daily meditation and other monastic rituals. Keizan claimed that under Jakuen's instruction he first attained the stage of nonretrogression, and then in 1285 had an enlightenment experience upon hearing an unexpected noise. Even though Keizan later became Gikai's dharma heir, even late in life he still remembered Jakuen as his first true teacher.[241] After Keizan, Jakuen's most important disciple was Giun who inherited Jakuen's dharma in 1295. Four years later, Jakuen bequeathed Hōkyōji to Giun and sensing that his own life was about to end, prepared to return to China. In spite of his intentions, he died before he could leave the temple.[242]

The patronage of Hōkyōji by the Ijira family reveals many characteristic features of rural warrior religious practices. The Ijira family had first gained prominence for their role in helping the Hōjō regents defeat the forces of Emperor Gotoba during the so-called Jōkyū

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[239]See chaps. "Kokū," "Ango," and "Kie sanpō," in *DZZ*, 1:564, 584, 675. Shin Zenkōji was located at Naka-no-hama (modern place name unknown).

[240]This inference is derived from circumstantial evidence, namely, that Ejō also resided at Naka-no-hama (*Daison gyōjōki*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:16a) and worked together with Giun and Kankai copying the *Shōbō genzō* (see Mizuno Yaoko, "Giun Zenji," pt. 5, *Sanshō*, 467 [Aug. 1982]: 27-28). The first syllable of Giun's name indicates that he had become a monk under the direction of a Darumashū member of the "E" generation, most likely Ejō since Ekan had died before Giun was born.

[241]Keizan, *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:235a, 238b, 242b; alt. in *JDZ*, 396, 406, 432; and *Jōkin hotsuganmon* (1325:5:23), in *Komonjo*, no. 168, 1:126.

[242]Kenkō, *Hōkyō yuishoki*, in *Komonjo*, 2:618-19.

Disturbance (1221). For this service, the shogunate rewarded them with land steward (*jitō*) rights to the Ijira region (from which they later derived their family name) of Mino (now part of Gifu Pref.). Shortly thereafter, however, they moved north to Echizen where they established a family residence along the banks of the Ajimi river in the Ōno District, over which they also extended their control. The Ajimi valley begins at the base of Ginnanpō (the site of Hōkyōji) from which it joins the Asuwa river valley leading toward Hajakuji, and beyond to Eiheiji.[243] As newcomers to the area, the Ijira no doubt sought to establish a family temple that would symbolize both their dominance over that district and the permanence of their family's roots in that location. Because the Ijira family residence was situated directly between Eiheiji and Ginnanpō, Jakuen's encounter with Ijira Tomotoshi could not have been merely fortuitous.

By selecting a monk from Eiheiji as abbot for their new temple, the Ijira also demonstrated their political goodwill toward the Hatano--a family powerful both locally in Echizen and within the shogunate. The Ijira further indicated their devotion to the shogunate by expressly stating in 1278, and again in 1299, that Hōkyōji was being built in honor or Hōjō Tokiyori (1227-1263).[244] Donations to Hōkyōji were repeatedly made as overt signs of political intentions. In 1346, the Ijira donated images of two divinities, Jikokuten (Skt. Dhṛtarāṣṭra; the king guarding the east) and Tamonten (Skt. Vaiśravaṇa; the king guarding

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[243]Ishikawa Rikizan, "Giun Zenjiden no kenkyū: Sono shutsuji to sangaku wo meguru sagyō kasetsu," in *Giun Zenji kenkyū*, 168-69.

[244]Kenkō, *Hōkyō yuishoki*, in *Komonjo*, 2:618; and [Ijira Tomonari], *Shami Chien nado kishinjō* (1299:10:18), in *Komonjo*, no. 1698, 2:608.

the north), to Hōkyōji in the name of Shōgun Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358) as a show of their support of his struggle against the Southern Court. In 1365, the Ijira reiterated their support by donating still more lands to Hōkyōji as an offering for the future enlightenment of the recently deceased Takauji.[245]

Hōkyōji also served as a focal point for the Ijira family's own religious devotion. Their religious attitude, like that of other warriors, was at once both exclusive and eclectic. In 1365 the Ijira ordered that Hōkyōji should always maintain its Sōtō affiliation and be led only by an abbot who had received a proper face-to-face transmission within Jakuen's own dharma lineage. Yet this same order also stipulated that devotional rites be performed every five days (in addition to rites on the fifth, fourteenth, fifteenth, eighteenth and last days of each month) for a wide variety of Buddhist divinities, including Shaka, Amida, Miroku (Skt. Maitreya), Kannon, Jizō (Skt. Kṣitigarbha), Monjū (Skt. Mañjuśri), Kokūzō, and Daruma.[246] From this eclectic worship, we know that the Ijira's exclusive support of Jakuen's Sōtō line derived from political or personal concerns. As already mentioned, the Ijira's support of a Sōtō temple helped link them to other Sōtō patrons such as the Hatano family. Another reason for the Ijira to have patronized Hōkyōji, might have been in order to provide alternate careers for younger or sickly relatives who were excluded from primogeniture. In

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[245][Ijira] Ensō, *Shami Ensō kishinjō* (1365:7:18), Hōkyōji DS in *Komonjo*, no. 1699, 2:609-10. Although this document mentions only the Jōwa era (1345-1350) for the donation of the images of the two divinities, the more exact date of 1346 is derived from *Kō Moronao shojō* (1346), rpt. in Maeda Hidehiko, "Giun Zenji to Ijirashi no kefu," in *Giun Zenji kenkyū*, 215.

[246][Ijira] Ensō, *Shami Ensō kishinjō*, in *Komonjo*, 2:609-10.

their 1365 order, the Ijira expressly enjoined Hōkyōji from selecting abbots simply upon the basis of [Ijira] family ties, thereby indicating that these tendencies already were presenting difficulties.[247]

Some scholars have even suggested that Giun, Jakuen's dharma heir and Hōkyōji's second abbot, must have been an Ijira. Nothing is known with certainty concerning Giun's early career beyond the fact that he worked with Ejō copying Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* in 1279. Therefore, one can only speculate as to why he had become Jakuen's disciple following Ejō's death in 1280. Proponents of the theory that Giun was born an Ijira note two conspicuous coincidences.[248] First, the Ijira began supporting Jakuen in the 1260's but failed to build him a temple until 1278, at a time when presages of Ejō's imminent decease must have become apparent. Second, the Ijira donated lands sufficient to support a large monastery only in 1299, the year that Giun became abbot of Hōkyōji. In addition to this apparent synchronization, Giun's *goroku* was published at Eiheiji in 1357 upon the request and financial support of the Ijira.[249] If Giun was in fact an Ijira, then his assumption of Eiheiji's abbotship in 1314 must have been a major achievement for the Ijira family. These speculations, regardless of their ultimate validity, demonstrate that the true circumstances by which Giun became

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[247]Ishikawa Rikizan has proposed that this issue is related to the fact that Hōkyōji's fourth abbot, Tōri, was unable to gain promotion to Eiheiji's abbotship as had been accomplished by Giun and Hōkyōji's third abbot, Donki (ca.1288-ca.1365). See his "Giun Zenjiden no kenkyū," in *Giun Zenji kenkyū*, 211-12.

[248]See Ishikawa Rikizan, "Giun Zenjiden no kenkyū," and Maeda Hidehiko, "Giun Zenji to Ijirashi no kefu"; both in *Giun Zenji kenkyū*, 173-74, 211-12.

[249]*Giun oshō goroku*, in *SKK*, 8:51; alt. in *SG*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:20.

Eiheiji's fifth abbot cannot be fully understood until more is known of the political relations between the Hatano and the Ijira.

Scholarly opinion is divided as to the nature of Jakuen's Zen teachings. Because Jakuen left no writings of his own and is hardly even mentioned in the writing of his disciple, Giun, one can only speculate from his actions what his religious attitude might have been.[250] Sahashi Hōryū argues that Jakuen's lifelong loyalty to Dōgen and Rujing indicates his devotion to Dōgen Zen.[251] Likewise, Takeuchi Michio has identified Jakuen and Senne as the two main inheritors of Dōgen Zen who (in contrast with Gikai and Giin) rejected any accommodation with Song dynasty developments or Rinzai elements. According to Takeuchi, the only differences between these two defenders of Dōgen's teaching is that Jakuen inherited the practical meditative side of Dōgen Zen, whereas Senne inherited more of its doctrinal side.[252] In contrast to these views, Kagamishima Genryū has argued that Jakuen as a Song dynasty Chinese must have viewed Rujing as a typical Chan teacher, not as the reformist portrayed in Dōgen's writings. Kagamishima further asserts that Jakuen, because he probably never rejected the Chinese practices and Rinzai elements attacked by Dōgen, stands in opposition to Senne and Kyōgō whose criticisms of Rinzai monks were even harsher than Dōgen's. This contrast between Senne and Jakuen also would have extended to their interpretations of precepts.

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[250]Jakuen is quoted only twice and mentioned only two additional times in Giun's *goroku* (in *SKK*, 8:39, 40, 49; alt. in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:9a-b, 10a, 17b).

[251]*Ningen Keizan*, 132-37.

[252]"Nihon ni okeru Sōtōshū no tenkai," in *Zenshū no rekishi*, 154.

Kagamishima points out that whereas Senne and Kyōgō followed the Japanese Tendai practice of rejecting so-called Hīnayāna precepts, Jakuen most certainly would have followed the Chinese practice of accepting all Buddhist precepts.[253]

Kagamishima's position, however, is not based upon Jakuen directly but upon the teachings of his disciple, Giun. We must view cautiously any identification of a teacher's approach to Zen with that of his disciple. The contrast between the Rujing portrayed in Dōgen's writing and the Rujing revealed in his own published recorded sayings demonstrates this point, as revealed by Kagamishima's own research.[254] In the case of Jakuen, who is hardly even mentioned by Giun, there remain too many unanswered questions regarding his own background and that of his disciple Giun for one to be able to reach any firm conclusions.

Giun's Zen teachings, as represented by his surviving writings, contain evidence to support either version of Jakuen's position. On the one hand, Giun possessed an obvious, self-conscious devotion to Dōgen's teachings. While on the other hand, he also taught some doctrines that many modern scholars, like Kagamishima Genryū, would consider in conflict with Dōgen Zen. Giun, like Kyōgō, readily identified himself as a Sōtō monk.[255] Giun's *goroku* includes numerous quotations from Dōgen's *goroku* as well as quotations of Chinese Zen teachers based on

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[253]"'Shōbō genzōshō' no seiritsu to sono seikaku," 110, 116 n. 4; and "Shūgaku shisōshijō ni okeru Giun Zenji no ichi" (1984); rpt. in *Dōgen Zenji to sono shūhen*, 127-32, 135.

[254]See his "Nyojō Zenji no shisō no kenkyū."

[255]Giun, *Echizen Eiheiji shōmei* (1327:8:24), Eiheiji temple bell inscription, in *SZ*, 15, *Kinseki bunrui*, 535a, line 12.

Dōgen's collection of three hundred one *kōan*, the Chinese-language (i.e., *shinji*) *Shōbō genzō*. Giun also cited passages from Rujing's *goroku*.[256] Moreover, Giun possessed his own copy of the *Hōkyōki*,[257] a problematical account of Rujing's teachings that Dōgen seems to have compiled in Japan without the assistance of Ejō.[258] Giun's study of the *Hōkyōki* is significant because this account emphasizes Dōgen's own unique interpretation of Rujing, not the typical Chinese Chan practices found in Rujing's *goroku*.

As mentioned above, Giun also had obtained from Ejō a copy of Dōgen's (Japanese) *Shōbō genzō*. In 1329 Giun composed a preface to this *Shōbō genzō* along with an introductory verse for each chapter. Because this text is referred to as a verse commentary (*juko*), probably Giun composed these verses as part of a series of lectures on the *Shōbō genzō* he was then presenting.[259] One by one, the verses attempt to indicate or summarize the key issue addressed in each *Shōbō genzō* chapter. In

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[256] Ishikawa Rikizan and Ishii Shūdō have identified eight passages from the *Eihei kōroku*, eight from the *Shinji Shōbō genzō* and two from the *Rujinglu* within the 1684 Cabinet Library manuscript version of the text. See Ishikawa, "'Giunroku' ni okeru 'Wanshiroku' in'yō no igi," *KBK*, 35 (1977): 295-99; and Ishii, "'Giun oshō goroku' no in'yō tenseki."

[257] Giun, "Postscript" (1299:11:23), to *Hōkyōki* (Ejō copy), in *Shiryōshū*, *SBGZST*, 26:752.

[258] Mizuno Yaoko, "Hōkyōki," in *Dōgen no chosaku*, Kōza Dōgen, 3, ed. Kagamishima Genryū and Tamaki Kōshirō (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1980), 221-23. For an English translation, see Takashi James Kodera, *Dogen's Formative Years in China*, 117-40; but note that the copy used by Ejō and Giun (the Zenkyūin Ms.) omits the biographical introduction and begins with the text of Rujing's letter to Dōgen, authorizing his visits to the abbot's building (i.e., p. 117, fifth line from bottom).

[259] Giun, *Shōbō genzō honmokuju narabi ni jo* (1329:5), copied 1461 by Zenrin, in *SBGZST*, 20:3-8; alt. *Giun oshō goroku*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:35-40. The word "*juko*" appears only in the Zenrin copy (p. 8).

spite of their brevity, these verses stand out as the only direct commentary on Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* written during the more than four-hundred-twenty-year interval that separates Kyōgō's *Goshō* from Tenkei's Tokugawa-period commentary. This commentary and Giun's other textual citations demonstrate that Giun--and, by implication, his teacher Jakuen--were conscientious students of Dōgen's teachings, as much so as any of Dōgen's other disciples including Senne and Kyōgō.

Giun also accepted many Zen practices that had been rejected by Dōgen, in spite of his devotion to Dōgen's writings. For example, Giun's inaugural lectures at Hōkyōji and at Eiheiji both began with a salute to the emperor's long life.[260] Chinese Chan teachers routinely had included ritual homage to the emperor as part of inaugural lectures since the tenth century. Dōgen and Rujing, however, both had avoided this tradition. In their inaugural lectures, the emperor is conspicuous by his absence.[261] Dōgen had explicitly opposed the use of secular conventions in Zen lectures.[262] Giun's style of citing Hongzhi Zhengjue also suggests that he placed more emphasis on Chinese Chan tradition than on Dōgen's teachings.[263] In Giun's *goroku*, quotes from Hongzhi occur nearly three times more often than quotes from Dōgen. Of course Hongzhi as a major patriarch of the Chinese Caodong tradition also had

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[260]*Giun oshō goroku*, in *SKK*, 8:34, 40; alt. in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:4, 10.

[261]Ishii Shūdō, "'Giun oshō goroku' no in'yō tenseki," 102-4. In the edited versions of Dōgen's *goroku* this ritual homage to the Emperor was inserted back into the text, thereby obscuring Dōgen's deviation from conventional Zen practice (See *DZZ*, 2:7 n.).

[262]*Kōroku*, sec. 5, lec. 412, in *DZZ*, 2:102-3.

[263]Ishikawa Rikizan, "'Giunroku' ni okeru 'Wanshiroku' in'yō," 276-85.

been highly venerated by Dōgen. Their use of quotations from Hongzhi differ, however. Dōgen used Hongzhi's language merely as a springboard from which to express his own interpretations.[264] Giun merely quoted Hongzhi word-for-word as the concluding portion of his lecture, thereby emphasizing his acceptance of Hongzhi's position.[265]

Giun also adopted Hongzhi's use of Zen teaching devices (*kikan*) in which the functioning of enlightenment is demonstrated by a series of reversible or interchangeable relationships, such as the Three Ways (*sanro*), the Four Substitutions (*shishaku*), the Four Student-Masters (*shihinju*), and the Five Ranks (*goi*). All of these obscure terms appear in Giun's *goroku* within passages based on Hongzhi's writings.[266] Giun freely cited these devices, even though Dōgen had rejected all of them as obscuring the true unity of Buddhism.[267] Dōgen asserted that monks should ignore the Five Ranks and instead concentrate only on the true teachings (*shōbō genzō*) of the patriarchs.[268] By Dōgen's time these Zen devices were widely used to induce enlightenment or insight experiences known as *kenshō* (perceiving reality). Dōgen's rejection of devices is related to his assertion that *kenshō* is not the meaning or purpose of

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[264]Ishii Shūdō, "Wanshiroku no rekishiteki seikaku," pt. 2, "Dōgen oshō kōroku no in'yō wo megutte," *SG*, 15 (1972): 104-9; and "Wanshi kōroku kō," *KBK*, 30 (1972): 107-40.

[265]Ishikawa Rikizan, "'Giunroku' ni okeru 'Wanshiroku' in'yō," 279-82, 284-85.

[266]See note 256 above and Kagamishima Genryū, "Shūgaku shisōshijō ni okeru Giun," 127-29.

[267]*SBGZ*, chaps. "Butsudō" and "Bukkyō," in *DZZ*, 1:380-81, 409-10.

[268]*SBGZ*, "Shunju" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:328.

Buddhism.[269] Yet Giun also borrowed the term *kenshō* from Hongzhi, adding his own positive interpretation.[270] These points indicate that Giun's devotion to Dōgen had been only one part of his greater devotion to the Chinese Caodong tradition.

Giun, in contrast to Senne and Kyōgō, also seems to have had a conciliatory attitude towards Japanese Rinzai Zen. Two Japanese Rinzai monks, Getsudō Sōki (1285-1361) of the Daiō line and Chūgan Engetsu (1300-1375) of the Daie (Ch. Dahui) line, both studied at Eiheiji under Giun. One of these, Chūgan Engetsu, seems to have sought out Giun expressly in order to study the Five Ranks.[271] Even the Chinese Linji (Jpn. Rinzai) monk Dugu Chunpeng (Jpn. Dokuko Shunhō) had praised Giun's mastery of the Five Ranks when requested by Giun's disciple, Sōka, to write Giun's eulogy.[272] Giun's verse commentary on Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* also indirectly suggests his closeness to Rinzai. Unlike Senne and Kyōgō who commented upon Dōgen's revised, seventy-five-chapter text, Giun wrote verses for a different, fifty-nine-chapter version.[273] This fifty-nine-chapter *Shōbō genzō* used by Giun contains nine chapters not found in the seventy-five-chapter version, but lacks twenty-five others.

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[269]*SBGZ*, "Shizen biku" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:328.

[270]*Giun oshō goroku*, in *SKK*, 8:44; alt. in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:14-15. Even though Giun nominally cites Xuefeng Yicun (Seppō Gison; 822-908), the text of the dialogue actually is from Hongzhi's iteration.

[271]Nakao Ryōshin provides a detailed review of all the sources concerning the relationship between Giun and these two Rinzai monks in his "Chūsei Tōzai kōryū ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Giun Zenji to Getsudō Sōki-Chūgan Engetsu no baai," in *Giun Zenji kenkyū*, 290-309.

[272]*Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 119.

[273]Although commonly referred to as the "sixty-chapter" text, this version counts "Gyōji" as two chapters, while all other versions count "Gyōji" as a single chapter.

Among these twenty-five missing chapters are the ones in which Dōgen rejects the use of devices such as the Five Ranks and attacks the use of the word *kenshō*, as well as most (but not all) of the ones in which Dōgen harshly criticizes famous Chinese Chan teachers.[274]

Traditionally it has been thought that Giun himself must have compiled this fifty-nine-chapter version, rejecting those chapters that criticized his own Zen practices. The fifty-nine-chapter version could not have been bowldlerized, however, since it does contain other criticisms of Linji-line Chinese masters.[275] Recent textual study has shown that the fifty-nine-chapter version actually represents an earlier version of the *Shōbō genzō*, predating Dōgen's seventy-five-chapter compilation. In other words the fifty-nine-chapter version also must have been compiled by Dōgen, not by Giun.[276] Yet since Giun assisted Ejō copy the *Shōbō genzō* in 1279, he must have been aware of and had access to Dōgen's final seventy-five-chapter text. Hōkyōji would have possessed the seventy-five-chapter version.[277] This seventy-five-chapter version not only represents Dōgen's final arrangement, but also

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[274]For example, the following chapters not found in the 59-chapter version contain criticisms of Linji teachers: "Zazenshin" (*DZZ*, 1:91), "Shisho" (1:341, 345), "Sesshin sesshō" (1:359-62), "Mitsugo" (1:396), "Dai shugyō" (1:546), and "Jishō zanmai" (1:556).

[275]For example, criticisms of Linji Yixuan are found in: "Butsu kōjōji" (chap. 26 in both 59 and 75-chap. vers.; *DZZ*, 1:226), "Kattō" (chap. 38 in 59-chap. ver.; *DZZ*, 1:335), "Mujō seppō" (chap. 46 in both vers.; *DZZ*, 1:404), and "Kenbutsu" (chap. 47 in 59-chap. ver.; *DZZ*, 1:486).

[276]Kawamura Kōdō, "'Shōbō genzō' seiritsu no sho mondai," pt. 4, "60 kanhon 'Shōbō genzō' wo megutte," *IBK*, 21:2 (March 1973): 199-205; and "Giun Zenji to 'Shōbō genzō' sankō: Rokujū kanhon no henshū-seiritsu no mondai to no kanrei ni oite," in *Giun Zenji kenkyū*, 117-55.

[277]Mizuno Yaoko, "Giun Zenji," pt. 5, 27-28; and Kawamura, "Giun Zenji to 'Shōbō genzō' sankō," 143-44.

includes many textual revisions not found in the earlier fifty-nine-chapter compilation.[278] Senne and Kyōgō, the strongest critics of Japanese Rinzai, had used the seventy-five-chapter *Shōbō genzō*. It is not clear why Giun would have selected to use the earlier fifty-nine-chapter version to lecture upon to his students unless he had in fact found it more agreeable.

In short, Giun's Zen style differed from Dōgen's in three major areas: (1) his homage to secular authority, (2) his uncritical acceptance of Chinese teaching devices, especially the Five Ranks and *kenshō*, and (3) his rejection of the seventy-five-chapter version of the *Shōbō genzō*. Therefore, Kagamishima Genryū's assertion that Giun--and, by implication, his teacher Jakuen--must be contrasted to Senne and Kyōgō also is correct. In spite of Giun's obvious devotion to Dōgen, it would be mistaken to assert that Giun, his teacher (Jakuen), or his lineage had kept Eiheiji untainted by the Rinzai-type traditional Zen practices accepted at other medieval Sōtō monasteries such as Giin's Daijiji or Gikai's Daijōji.

The Sandai Sōron and the Early Sōtō School in Transition

Beginning with Kuriyama Taion, modern historians of early Sōtō history have attempted to define the period of transition separating Dōgen's religion from later developments in terms of the so-called "*sandai sōron*."[279] The historical record, however, is unclear; scholars

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[278]For example, the *SBGZ*, "Gyōji" chapter, second half (Kōfukuji Ms., in *Shiryōshū*, *SBGZST*, 26:163-89), represents a rough draft of this chapter containing many interlinear corrections and revisions in Dōgen's handwriting. The "Gyōji" chapter in the 59-chapter text represents the original draft, while the version in the 75-chapter text incorporates Dōgen's revisions.

[279]Kuriyama, *Gakusan shiron*, 42-44; and *Sōjijishi*, 73-94.

are divided as to the content and meaning of this term or the event(s) it describes.[280] Literally *"sandai"* refers to the third generation or three generations, while *"sōron"* refers either to a conflict or a formal litigation to resolve a conflict. To a large extent, any analysis of the careers of Dōgen's early disciples (Giin, Senne, Kyōgō, Gikai, Gien and Jakuen) must first consider the question of conflict among Dōgen's followers. It is possible, based upon the earliest available sources, to write of this period of Sōtō history without mention of any conflicts at all. Nonetheless because (a) even omission represents a historical judgment and (b) the *sandai sōron* has figured prominently in the modern interpretation of early Sōtō history, the unanswered questions concerning this conflict bear closer attention. We will begin with the historical record itself and then attempt to clarify a few key characteristics of the early Japanese Sōtō Zen school by juxtaposing that record with a summary of related events.

The term *"sandai sōron"* was used first by Kenkō, the fifteenth-century Jakuen-line historian.[281] In his *Hōkyō yuishoki*, Kenkō states that Giun was able to become abbot of Eiheiji because at the time of Gien's death there was *"sandai sōron."* Kenkō further asserts that because of Giun's attainment, Jakuen posthumously became Eiheiji's Third Generation Patriarch.[282] Kenkō describes nothing of the content or

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280 All primary sources as well as the interpretations advanced by modern scholars have been reviewed and analyzed in detail by Ishikawa Rikizan, "Sandai sōron ni tsuite," in *Eiheijishi*, 205-25. My analysis, while differing from that of Ishikawa in many details, is indebted to the approach first suggested by Matsuda Fumio ("Sandai sōron no imi," 146-57) and developed by Ishikawa in the above article.

281 Matsuda, "Sandai sōron no imi," 146.

282 *Hōkyō yuishoki*, in *Komonjo*, 2:619.

course of these events, but his disciple Kenzei provides more details. In his history of Eiheiji, Kenzei explains that the *sandai sōron* occurred after Gien's death in 1312-1314 when a dispute broke out between factions of Gien's disciples and Gikai's disciples, each faction claiming that their own master had been Eiheiji's proper third abbot. Gien's disciples insisted that Gikai, by leaving Eiheiji, had forfeited the title of "Third Generation" to Gien. When each side appealed to the shogunate for an official judgment, the secular authority, unable to deny the claims of either side, ruled that both Gien and Gikai should be reduced to the status of former abbot (*zenjū*).[283] "Former abbot" in this context is merely an honorific title referring to someone who had never served as a proper abbot.[284] This appellation would deny both Gien and Gikai any ranking as "Third" or "Fourth" and would justify Jakuen's having received the rank of "Third Abbot." In short, this description of the *sandai sōron* handed down in the Jakuen line has three key points: (1) it occurred among Gikai and Gien's disciples, only after the latter's death; (2) it developed into formal litigation; and (3) it was intimately related to Jakuen and Giun's positions as Eiheiji patriarchs.

Taikyoku (1421-ca.1472-), a Rinzai monk at Tōfukuji who wrote at about the same time as Kenkō and Kenzei, offers an alternate account of the *sandai sōron*.[285] Taikyoku's account begins with his having asked

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[283]*Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 113-17.

[284]Kuriyama, *Sōjijishi*, 91-92.

[285]*Hekizan nichiroku*, entry dated 1459:9:20, in *Shintei zōho shiseki shūran* (1881-1885; 2d rev. edn., Tokyo: Rinsen Shoten, 1967), 26:278. Regarding Taikyoku, see Tamamura Takeji, "'Hekizan nichiroku' kishu kō" (1957); rpt. in *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū*, 2:217-49.

an unnamed visiting Sōtō monk to explain why Dōgen's descendants (i.e., Gikai's line) occupy only the major monasteries of Daijōji, Tōkoku (Yōkōji),[286] and Sōjiji, without also occupying Dōgen's Eiheiji. According to the unnamed Sōtō monk, Gikai's line does not occupy Eiheiji because of a conflict between Gikai and Gien. The trouble began when Gikai returned to Eiheiji from an inspection of the Kamakura Rinzai temple Kenchōji only to discover that in his absence Gien had already assumed Eiheiji's abbotship. When Gikai protested with his own claim to the abbotship, Gien stated his willingness to relinquish his seat in favor of Gikai. This offer, however, was unacceptable. Gikai refused on the grounds that as Gien's superior he could not accept the abbotship from a lower-ranked monk. At this point, Ejō intervened by serving a second term as abbot so as to allow Gikai to inherit the abbotship directly from a higher-ranked monk. However, this failed to bring peace among Gien and Gikai's followers since each still claimed the title of Third Generation Abbot. In a strange reversal of our logical assumption that the strongest faction would win Eiheiji, this anonymous monk concludes his account by stating that Gikai's disciples abandoned Eiheiji to found their own temples because Gikai had the largest number of followers. An interlinear comment added to Taikyoku's text informs the reader that these events comprise the *sandai sōron.* This account, while differing in its claimed course of events, is similar to the Jakuen-line's version of the *sandai sōron* in two respects: (1) it uses the *sandai sōron* to explain why Jakuen's line, instead of Gikai's, occupies Eiheiji; and (2) it lays the blame for the conflict primarily

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[286]This is the Yōkōji founded by Keizan Jōkin, not Senne's Yōkōan.

upon Gien and his disciples--a line that had already died out. Interestingly, no fault is attributed to Gikai's followers.

Unshō Ikkei (1386-1463) and Tōgen Zuisen (d.1489), two other Tōfukuji Rinzai monks, also contemporaries with Taikyoku, Kenzei and Kenkō, describe another conflict between Gikai and Gien.[287] In their account, Ikkei and Zuisen do not use the term *sandai sōron*, nor do they describe any dispute over Eiheiji's abbotship. Instead, they state that Gien and Gikai's mutual animosity grew out of a conflict over monastic seniority. Gikai is said to have claimed seniority because of his having studied in China and his having served as abbot prior to Gien. Gien reportedly acknowledged Gikai's accomplishments while nonetheless claiming seniority on the basis of being older than Gikai. Because neither side would give in to the other, an unspecified secular authority had to arbitrate the dispute. This authority ruled, on the basis of Gikai's having become abbot first, in favor of Gikai's seniority. This account, unlike the ones considered above, does not continue the story to include Gien and Gikai's disciples, nor Gikai's departure from Eiheiji. These omissions probably are the reason why the term *sandai sōron* had not been applied by Ikkei and Zuisen to describe this supposed conflict between Gien and Gikai.

Finally, a document handed down within Giin's line and dated about a century later than the above accounts describes a completely different *sandai sōron*. This document is an explanatory note attached

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[287] *Chokushū Hyakujō shingi Untōshō* (1459-1462), sec. 2, "Shōshusō," as cited by Okubo, *DZDKK*, 434.

to a genealogical history of the Japanese Sōtō school.[288] It begins with the patently false assertion that Giin had been Dōgen's foremost disciple and had allowed Ejō to succeed to Eiheiji's abbotship only because Giin already had his own temple in Kyushu at the time of Dōgen's death.[289] The *sandai sōron* occurred when Ejō, in turn, passed away, abdicating the abbotship to Gikai, his foremost disciple. At that time Gien attacked Gikai and claimed the abbotship for himself. According to this account, Gien had received dharma initiation directly from Dōgen, unlike Gikai who learned from Ejō. The dispute between Gien and Gikai continued for three years without any resolution. The document explains that Eiheiji's patron eventually forced a settlement by drawing lots to select a completely new abbot. That abbot, Eiheiji's formal "Third Generation," was Jakuen, who succeeded in reviving the monastery. This account is unique in its novel claim that Giin held first rights to Eiheiji's abbotship and in its confusion over who revived Eiheiji (Jakuen instead of Giun). Yet this account is similar to all the previous ones in which the term *sandai sōron* is employed. Like them, it also (1) links the conflict to the Jakuen line's occupation of Eiheiji while (2) placing the blame for the conflict on Gien.

These two common themes run through every document in which the term *sandai sōron* occurs, though they are clothed in widely divergent details (and there are many more contradictions than could be included

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[288]*Eiheiji sandai sōron*, in *Nippon Tōjō shiha no zu*, Fusaiji (Shizuoka Pref.) Ms., recopied 1584 by Koan Rintotsu, as cited by Ishikawa, "Sandai sōron ni tsuite," 206. Kuriyama had introduced this document (*Sōjijishi*, 92-93), but without identifying its origin.

[289]As explained earlier, Giin had been at Eiheiji in 1253 and did not found a temple (Nyoraiji) until 1269, more than sixteen years later.

in these brief summaries). Until recently, historians have given little attention to the historical circumstances of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries during which the above accounts were produced. Of course, beginning with Kuriyama Taion, scholars have been well aware of the textual and historical difficulties presented by these documents. Not one of these sources can withstand careful scrutiny. The reported direct appeal to secular authorities cannot be found in any contemporary sources.[290] Yet given the number of different sources, each maintaining that some kind of conflict did occur, scholars have tended to search through the earlier, more reliable sources attempting to find indications of any conflict that would agree with these later accounts. In general, their unstated premises have included four points: (1) that a serious conflict erupted between Gien and Gikai, (2) that Gikai was forced out of Eiheiji, (3) that this schism separated Eiheiji from Gikai's more numerous following, and (4) that as a result, Eiheiji fell into decline until Giun moved in to revive the monastery.

In this way even though the historical accuracy of any particular account of the *sandai sōron* has been rejected, the concept that a *sandai sōron* must have occurred has been accepted.[291] When examined in these terms, Gikai's retiring from Eiheiji's abbotship in 1272 is seen as the first stage of the *sandai sōron*, his conflict with the followers of Jakuen sometime around 1287--or, according to some scholars, not Jakuen, but Gien--is the second stage of the *sandai sōron*,

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[290]Murakami Kiyota, "Eiheiji sandai sōron ni tsuite," *Komazawa shigaku*, 16 (1969): 75-76.

[291]The most influential scholars adopting this approach have been: Kuriyama, *Sōjijishi*, 73-94; Ōkubo Dōshū, "Dōgen Zenji no genshi sōdan to Nihon Darumashū to no kankei" (1941); rpt., in *DZDKK*, 406-46; and Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, 3, *Chūseihen 2*, 315-16.

while any conflict between Gien and Gikai's disciples sometime around 1314-1317 is the third stage of the *sandai sōron*. Moreover, some scholars speculate that the cause of the conflict must have begun not with a dispute over monastic seniority or succession to the abbotship, but began instead as a dispute over the meaning and purpose of Dōgen's religion.[292] Gien and Jakuen are seen as traditionalists who wished to pursue a pure religious life unconcerned with appeals to secular support, while Gikai is seen as a popularizer who attempted to promote institutional growth. Gikai's having studied in China, having introduced new rituals to Eiheiji, having moved to Daijōji and having accepted Keizan Jōkin as an heir, all are seen as evidence of his having been overly concerned with institutional expansion.

Before examining the validity of the above approach, it is necessary first to review the historical circumstances that gave birth to the concept of a *"sandai sōron."* In the fifteenth century, strong factionalism between different Sōtō lineages already had begun. Gikai's line with its many subdivisions had emerged as the dominant Sōtō lineage, while Giin's line had begun expanding into central Japan. In contrast to these, the Senne-Kyōgō and the Gien lines already had died out. By the mid 1450s (i.e., the date of Kenzei's history) even the dates during which Gien had served as Eiheiji's abbot already were

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[292]The main scholars applying this interpretation have been (1) Sahashi Hōryū, (2) Imaeda Aishin, and (3) Takeuchi Michio. For example, see (1) Sahashi, *Nihon Sōtōshū shiron kō* (Tokyo: [by author] Zenshū Shigaku Kenkyūkai, 1952), 17-36; or *Ningen Keizan*, 30-96; (2) Imaeda, *Zenshū no rekishi*, Nihon Rekishi Shinsho (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1962), 163; or "Zen no hatten," in *Nihon shūkyōshi*, 1, ed. Kasahara Kazuo, Seikai Shūkyōshi Sōsho, 11 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1977), 302; and (3) Takeuchi, "Sandai sōron no shakai shiteki kōsatsu," *SG*, 7 (1967): 101-6; or *Nihon no Zen* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1976), 181-87.

forgotten. No one remembered enough about Gien to be able to praise, defend, or even to explain his activities at Eiheiji.

Jakuen's line had split into two factions, one at Hōkyōji and one at Eiheiji. The Jakuen-line abbots at Eiheiji handed down the text of the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* from one generation to the next as a testament that Eiheiji's abbotship or "temple lineage" and the abbots' own dharma lineage were one and the same.[293] In this way, each previous abbot asserted a proprietorial right to cede Eiheiji's abbotship only to his own selected disciple. Yet at the same time Eiheiji also accepted abbots from the lines of Gikai and Giin. While details of these early non-Jakuen-line Eiheiji abbots are obscure, presumably these monks would obtain the prestige of having served at Dōgen's own monastery while Eiheiji would benefit from the financial resources of the many smaller temples whose loyalty would be commanded by these monks. As will be explained below (in chapter 5), Eiheiji's financial difficulties in recovering from several major fires eventually led to the development of a formal ceremony (*zuise*) by which monks from other temples obtained the honorary title of Former Abbot of Eiheiji (*zen Eihei*) in exchange for financial contributions. It is important to note that during the lifetimes of Kenkō and Kenzei that system had not yet developed; these early non-Jakuen-line monks at Eiheiji performed the same enrollment ceremony as did Jakuen-line abbots.[294]

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[293]"Postscript" (1333-1560), *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* (Eiheiji Ms.), in *DZZ*, 2:270-71.

[294]Hirose Ryōkō, "Eiheiji no suiun to fukkō undō," in *Eiheijishi*, 414-432.

The first reported Giin-line abbot at Eiheiji was Chishō, a monk from Daijiji who served after Giun's disciple Donki.[295] Another Giin line monk, Kazō Gidon (1375-1455), served as abbot for eight days in 1453 at age seventy-eight. Kazō began his brief term with the standard series of inaugural lectures (*kaidō seppō*) performed by any new abbot, for which he attained the title of Eighteenth Generation Abbot of Eiheiji.[296] Likewise, Kazō's disciple Meiten Keiju also served a brief term at Eiheiji, which he also began with the standard inaugural lectures. Meiten referred to himself as Eiheiji's twenty-first abbot and paid homage to Kazō as Eiheiji's eighteenth generation.[297] In light of Kazō's having been counted as "eighteenth," it is significant to note that Kenzei--now officially counted as Eiheiji's fourteenth abbot--referred to himself as the twentieth-generation abbot in his history of Eiheiji.[298] If Kenzei was the twentieth-generation abbot, then his teacher Kenkō would have been the nineteenth-generation abbot. Chronologically Kazō Gidon could have been counted as the eighteenth abbot in 1453, since Kenkō (his successor) probably became abbot about

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[295]*Jūjishoku nin katai monjo no koto*, a.k.a. *Meihōha Gasanha gizetsu no toki kanrei Hatakeyama kata soshō no meyasu* (1415), in *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:247a; alt. in *JDZ*, 460. The historicity of Chishō's term remains uncertain, but we known that Giin-line abbots must have been known at Eiheiji by 1415 because his term is cited as an historical precedent by this document. See Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 415-16.

[296]*Sanshū Taki Hōsenji kyūki*, as cited by Kuriyama, *Sōjijishi*, 114.

[297]*Meiten Keiju dai Zenji rinjū Esshū Kichijōzan Eihei Zenji hōgo* (1480:4:8), in *Enshū Horie Shukuro Zenji kaisan Meiten Keiju dai Zenji goroku*, as cited by Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 429-30.

[298]*Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 130.

1457.[299] Yet Kenkō referred to himself not as the nineteenth abbot, but as twelfth in Eiheiji's dharma line.[300]

This clearly indicates (as does the transmission of the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*) that at Eiheiji there stood a firm distinction between Jakuen-line abbots (counted by dharma generations) and abbots from outside lineages (counted by abbot generations). Even as late as the end of the fifteenth century, there is a clear reference to Isō Chūshin (d.1505; a Gikai-line monk who became Thirty-first Generation Abbot at Eiheiji) negotiating between Eiheiji monks and senior monks from outside lineages (*tamon*) to select a new abbot for Eiheiji.[301] Considering the numerical and financial resources available to these outside monks from Giin and Gikai's lines, it is easy to suppose that the Eiheiji-Jakuen line must have felt the need to justify their own claim to special status at Eiheiji.[302] For monks of the "outside" (i.e., Giin and Gikai) lineages, as well, it was just as important to rationalize Eiheiji's relationship to the Jakuen line. That is why the account handed down within the Giin line begins with an explanation of how Giin lost Eiheiji's abbotship. The fact that three very different accounts of the *sandai sōron* all began circulating within a short time of each other indicates that having an explanation was more important than the particular details of that explanation.

299I have followed the standard (imprecise) practice of assigning the dates of the transmission of the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* (Eiheiji Ms.) as the dates of inauguration.

300*Hōkyō yuishoki*, in *Komonjo*, 2:620.

301Gyokuin Eiyo, *Don'ei oshō gyōjō* (1504), in *SZ*, 17, *Shiden*, 2:311.

302Ishikawa Rikizan, "Sōtōshū Jakuenha no rekishiteki seikaku," in *Zenshū no sho mondai*, 168-75.

Kenkō himself, the first author to use the term *"sandai sōron,"* had additional reasons to stress the primacy of the Jakuen-line as a whole. Kenkō, like Giun and Donki, had been abbot at Hōkyōji before eventually assuming Eiheiji's abbotship. Separating Donki from Kenkō, however, there had been at least ten other abbots at Hōkyōji, not one of whom also served at Eiheiji.[303] The Hōkyōji-Jakuen line and the Eiheiji-Jakuen line had been separate for nearly a hundred years (see fig. 4).[304] When Kenkō became abbot at Hōkyōji he had already inherited the dharma lineage of Hōkyōji's previous abbot, Erin. Therefore upon moving to Eiheiji Kenkō technically was an outsider of a different lineage. In 1457 Kenkō inherited the Eiheiji-Jakuen lineage, thereby securing his own position. However, this discarding of one's previous lineage just in order to attain a position at a different temple (technically known as *in'in ekishi*) would not have seemed convincing without some underlying rationalization. Kenkō provided that rationalization by attempting to diminish to distinction between the two Jakuen lines.

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[303]Honda Kizen, *Sōtō daini dōjō: Hōkyōjishi* (Ōno, Fukui Pref.: Hōkyōji, 1958), 29-58.

[304]According to the postscript of the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* (Eiheiji Ms.; *DZZ*, 2:270-71), Donki received initiation in 1333, his non-Hōkyōji successor, Iichi, received initiation in 1362, while Kenkō--the first outside abbot since Donki--received initiation in 1457.

FIGURE 4

DHARMA RELATIONSHIPS AT EIHEIJI AND HŌKYŌJI

	Eiheiji					*Hōkyōji*	
1.	Dōgen	<d.1253>	(1)	[1]			
2.	Ejō	<1267>	(2)	[2]			
3.	Gikai	<1272>	(3)				
4.	Gien	<d.1314>	(4)	[Jakuen-3]	i.	Jakuen	<d.1299>
					ii.	Giun	<1314>
5.	Giun	<1333>	(5)	[4]	iii.	Donki	<1333>
6.	Donki	<1362>	(6)	[5]			
	Chishō				iv.	Tōri	
					v.	Giin	
	Iichi	<1388>	(7)	[6]	vi.	Kiyū	
	Kijun	<1400>	(8)	[7]	vii.	Sosan	
	Sōgo	<1405>	(9)	[8]	viii.	Kishun	
	Eichi	<1438>	(10)	[9]	ix.	Eikyū	
	Soki	<1445>	(11)	[10]	x.	Eigi	
	Ryōkan	<1457>	(12)	[11]	xi.	Meisan	
					xii.	Reiju	
18.	Kazō Gidon	<1453>			xiii.	Erin	
					xiv.	Kenkō	
19.	Kenkō	<1468>	(13)	[12]			
20.	Kenzei	<1474>	(14)		xv.	Nyokin	
21.	Meiten Keiju	<1481>			xvi.	Soshi	
	Kōshū	<1493>	(15)		xvii.	Zenshō	
					xviii.	Soboku	
31.	Isō Chūshin	<d.1505>			xix.	Tōgyoku	
	Sōen	<1521>	(16)		xx.	Ikō	<d.1572>

The first set of numbers represent the actual number of abbots at Eiheiji. The numbers in angle brackets, e.g.: "<1267>," represent the year of abdication or, in some cases, of death. The numbers in round brackets, i.e.: "(1)-(16)," represent how Eiheiji's abbots have been counted since the mid-Tokugawa period, after the Jakuen-line lost control of Eiheiji. The numbers in square brackets, i.e.: "[1]-[12]," represent the assertion of Kenkō's *Hōkyō yuishoki*. The Roman numerals, i.e.: "i-xx," represent the official number of abbots at Hōkyōji as listed by Honda, *Hōkyōjishi*, 29-37.

Kenkō's biographies of Jakuen and Giun (in the *Hōkyō yuishoki*) emphasize both (1) the importance of the Jakuen line at Eiheiji and (2) the essential unity between the Hōkyōji and Eiheiji Jakuen factions. Although he does not explain the *sandai sōron* in detail, Kenkō made two series of related assertions. In support of his first position, Kenkō wrote that under Gien Eiheiji had fallen into decline, that the Hōkyōji abbot Giun had refurnished Eiheiji's buildings with materials brought from Hōkyōji, that Giun was the First Generation of the revived Eiheiji, and that all Eiheiji abbots must transmit Jakuen's dharma line. In order to demonstrate his second position (i.e., the underlying unity between his own Jakuen line and the one transmitted at Eiheiji), Kenkō further wrote that Jakuen is Eiheiji's true Third Patriarch, that Giun had asserted that the abbotship of these two monasteries are the same as "water poured from one vessel to another," and that Giun composed a couplet that commands:

> "When Eiheiji's [abbot's lineage] is cut off, connect [it to] Hōkyōji's; when Hōkyōji's [abbot's lineage] is cut off, connect [it to] Eiheiji's."[305]

With these passages in the *Hōkyō yuishoki*, Kenkō asserted his own right to switch to Eiheiji's Jakuen line.

Kenkō's disciple Kenzei totally accepted Kenkō's first position. Kenzei's detailed account of the *sandai sōron* emphasizes Giun's importance as the reviver of Eiheiji and asserts that Giun was none other than Dōgen reincarnate. Clearly, Kenzei also had wished to justify the control over Eiheiji exercised by the Jakuen line. Kenzei, however, ignored Kenzō's second position. He lacked any personal connection to Hōkyōji. His history, therefore, omits any mention of

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[305]In *Komonjo*, 2:619, 620.

Hōkyōji's unity with Eiheiji. Kenzei's account of the *sandai sōron* emphasizes the assertion that Gikai's line had forfeited its rights to Eiheiji's abbotship, not the importance of Jakuen.

The strong factionalism that already existed by the fifteenth century allowed monks of that time to readily accept the idea that a major schism must have occurred among Dōgen's immediate disciples. Certainly some conflicts must have been inevitable. The *Daison gyōjōki*, one of the most reliable early histories, states that Gikai's troubles with followers of Jakuen became so severe that Eiheiji's patron had to admonish the monks to restore peace (although this episode might be a latter interpolation). Moreover, of Dōgen's principal disciples only Ejō and Gien chose to remain at Eiheiji. Nonetheless, on the whole rather than finding evidence of any schism it is easier to argue that differences in background or Zen teaching did not prevent cooperation and unity among early Sōtō factions. The prime example of this is Keizan Jōkin's career of study. Keizan had received the tonsure under Gikai's direction, then successively studied under Ejō (Eiheiji), Jakuen (Hōkyōji), Gien (Eiheiji), and then again, Gikai (Daijōji). It is inconceivable that Keizan could have moved freely between Eiheiji, Hōkyōji and Daijōji if there had been any serious animosity between Gikai and either Gien or Jakuen.

Gikai's Darumashū affiliation often is singled out as one possible cause of conflict with Gien. Gikai and Gien, however, were linked by their both having the same Darumashū "gi" syllable as the first half of their names. Similar backgrounds should have led to greater cooperation, not conflicts. Many other monks at Eiheiji also shared that same Darumashū background--Giin, for example. If Gikai left

Eiheiji because of his Darumashū identity, then the same cause should explain Giin's reasons for leaving. Note that the first character of the tonsure name of Giin's principal disciple, Shidō Shōyu, is the same as that of Keizan Jōkin (i.e., both "shō" and "jō" are written the same).[306] This shared ideograph suggests that both Giin and Gikai had emphasized their common background by naming their first disciples with a transmission syllable of Darumashū origin. Yet Giin worked to obtain eulogies in China for the collection (*goroku*) of Dōgen's sayings that had been compiled (in part) by Gien. Giin also had links to Jakuen's disciple Giun. At Eiheiji, Giun (whose name also contains the Darumashū transmission syllable "gi") gave several lectures to commemorate the memory of Shidō Shōyu.[307] These lectures demonstrate that Giin's Sōtō faction in Kyūshū had communicated news of Shidō's death to Eiheiji. There was no conflict between the Giin line and Eiheiji.

As mentioned earlier, full details of Gikai's death and funeral in 1309 also had been dutifully reported to Eiheiji. This would not have been done if Gikai and Gien--who was then Eiheiji's abbot--had fought one against the other. In 1340 when Eiheiji had lost its only statue of Dōgen in a major fire, the monks from Daijōji promptly sent their own Dōgen statue to Eiheiji to replace it.[308] Again this would

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[306]Tamamura Takeji has linked Shidō Shōyu to Lanxi Daolong because the same "shō" (or "jō") ideograph was used as a transmission symbol used in his dharma line (see his "Rinka no mondai," 2:985 n. 7). This possition is doubtful, however, because "shō" appears no more frequently in the names of Daolong's disciples than among early Sōtō monks.

[307]*Giun oshō goroku*, Edo woodblock edn., supplementary fasc., in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:22-23. Giun referred to Shido Shōyu by the honorific title of *"seidō,"* meaning one who is a former abbot of another temple.

[308]*Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 126.

not have been done if the followers of Gikai and the followers of either Gien or Jakuen had been feuding one side against the other. Even Senne and Kyōgō, the harshest critics of other Zen teachers, seem to have maintained contact with Eiheiji. In 1357, Kōshin, a monk from Senne's Yōkōan in Kyoto, worked at Eiheiji as a copyist on the publication of Giun's recorded sayings--sayings which contained many Rinzai-style elements.[309] These incidents suggest that all the factions worked together to promote a single Sōtō lineage.

In addition to their unity of purpose, these early factions also shared several common characteristics. Giin's principal patron, the Kawajiri family, and Jakuen's principal patron, the Ijira family, both had political connections to Eiheiji's principal patron, the Hatano family. Likewise, the Togashi family in Kaga Province (i.e., Gikai's patron) also probably had developed deeper ties to the Hatano family, as demonstrated by the fact that in 1340 the Togashi personally accompanied the Daijōji monks in carrying Dōgen's statue to Eiheiji. Warrior family and political connections, although difficult to document, cannot be overlooked in any institutional history of medieval Japanese Zen. These warrior families probably had little awareness of the differences between Dōgen Zen and that taught by the Rinzai monks in Kyoto and Kamakura, or even of the differences between Zen and the older schools of Japanese Buddhism.

Of Dōgen's disciples only Giin's religious practices have been well documented. Giin from the very start readily staged traditional religious services that would be familiar both to his patrons and to monks from neighboring non-Zen monasteries. Warrior sponsorship of

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[309] *Giun oshō goroku*, in *SKK*, 8:51; alt. in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:20.

other Sōtō factions also greatly influenced their religious development. Writing at a somewhat later date, Musō Soseki (1275-1351), the prominent Rinzai leader, repeatedly lamented the frequency with which warrior patrons ordered Zen monks to perform ritual prayers for secular concerns.[310] During the lifetimes of Dōgen's disciples, the attempted Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281 had increased the emphasis placed upon prayers for the safety of the nation at all Japanese shrines and temples--including Zen temples. All early Sōtō factions, not just Giin's or Gikai's, must have been influenced by the secular concerns of late thirteenth century Japan.

The final common characteristic of these Sōtō factions, therefore, is their having combined a reliance upon the religious authority symbolized by Dōgen with a willingness to deviate from Dōgen's own practices. Although these two appear mutually exclusive, in Zen tradition orthodoxy and its counterpoint, heresy, always have hinged upon lineage rather than doctrine or practice.[311] Thus, Giin sought dedications for Dōgen's *goroku* from leading Chinese monks and also dedicated Daijiji's temple bell to the emperor and shōgun. Senne and Kyōgō both compiled major commentaries on Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*, while emphasizing Tendai theories and practicing esoteric *dhāraṇī*. Gikai and Ejō not only stressed personal closeness to Dōgen, but also introduced daily sūtra recitation ceremonies to Eiheiji. Although the religious practices of Gien and Jakuen are unknown, it is reasonable to assume that they also followed this pattern. Historically, only those factions

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[310]"Rinsen kakun" (1339), in *Musō kokushi goroku*, fasc. 2B, in *T*, 80:501b. Regarding this text, see Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 149-65.

[311]Tamamura Takeji, "Zenshū ni okeru itan no mondai" (1965); rpt. in *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū*, 2:737-45.

that accepted the Chinese Chan mode (i.e., Giin, Gikai, and Jakuen) survived. Regardless of the degree to which Chinese practices were accepted or rejected (i.e., Senne and Kyōgō), however, all factions equally had stressed their unity with Dōgen.

CHAPTER 4

CONSOLIDATION OF A NEW INSTITUTIONAL BASE

As explained in the previous chapter, all early Sōtō lineages had emphasized Dōgen as the ultimate source of their religious authority. This emphasis on the symbolic power of Dōgen's lineage remained consistent throughout the history of the Japanese Sōtō school--except for one brief incident during the modern period. That rejection of Dōgen raised the issue of who should be regarded as the founder of the Japanese Sōtō school. The social circumstances of the resulting controversy have greatly influenced Sōtō scholarship of the topics addressed in this chapter. Therefore, perhaps the best introduction to the formation of the early medieval Sōtō school would be a brief summary of the modern events that led to the controversial assertion that Keizan Jōkin, not Dōgen, had founded Japanese Sōtō.

Keizan as Patriarch

In 1877 the Sōtō hierarchy announced new dates based on the solar calendar for yearly rituals. The true significance of that announcement, however, went beyond the abandonment of the lunar calendar. For the first time memorial services for Keizan were included among the annual events to be observed by all Sōtō temples. Today that proclamation is said to mark the date when Keizan gained official

recognition as the patriarch of the entire Japanese Sōtō school.[1] Previously, the only Japanese patriarch common to all Sōtō factions had been Dōgen. Keizan, by contrast, was known not as a source of religious authority but as the founder of Sōjiji, the head temple of the largest Sōtō faction. The adoption of Keizan as a patriarch equal to Dōgen, therefore, was meant to symbolize that all Sōtō lineages also accepted Sōjiji's position as a head temple equal to Dōgen's Eiheiji.

Sōjiji's status as a rival to Eiheiji was not a new development. Sōjiji led the largest network of affiliated temples in the Sōtō school. In the sixteenth century Sōjiji had proclaimed itself the head temple of all Sōtō lineages repeatedly.[2] In 1560, Takeda Shingen (1521-1573) stipulated that only Eiheiji and Sōjiji were authorized to confer ecclesiastical honors on Zen monks in his domains.[3] In 1589, the imperial court officially recognized Sōjiji as the head temple of the Sōtō school, a title that the court previously had bestowed on Eiheiji.[4] The Tokugawa shogunate also acknowledged both Eiheiji and Sōjiji as head temples when in 1615 it issued separate sets

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[1]Azuma Ryūshin, "Keizan Zenji kenkyū no dōkō," in *Keizan Zenji kenkyū* (1974): 1115. That announcement (i.e., the *Soshiki kaisei jōrei*) was issued October 20, 1877.

[2]Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 387-98.

[3]*Takeda Shingen hanmotsusha*, in *Komonjo*, no. 257, 1:206-7.

[4]*Goyōzei tennō rinji* (1589:6:27), in *Komonjo*, no. 2003, 3:23. According to the diary of Nakamikado Nobutane (1442-1525), the court first awarded Eiheiji with official status as head of the Sōtō school in 1507. See *Nobutane kyōki*, entries for 1507:11:23, 1507:12:16, in *Zōho shiryō taisei* (Tokyo: Rinsen Shoten, 1965), 45 [*Nobutane kyōki*, vol. 2]: 218b, 221b; and Imaeda Aishin, "Chūsei Zenrin ni oderu jūji seido no sho mondai," in *Chūsei Zenshūshi no kenkyū*, 395-96.

of regulatory codes (*hatto*) to each monastery.[5] Throughout this period Sōjiji and Eiheiji were rivals in the true sense of the word. In each of the major Sōtō controversies of the Tokugawa period--on questions ranging from dharma succession to the proper manner of wearing the Buddhist robe--Eiheiji and Sōjiji had petitioned the government on opposite sides of the issues.

With the emergence of the new Meiji government, however, Eiheiji and Sōjiji concluded a formal truce. Their compact, signed in 1872, stated that past differences and disputes were to be resolved in accordance with "the maxims of the founding patriarch, Dōgen, and the aspirations of the late teacher, Keizan" (*shūso Dōgen no kakun to senshi Keizan no sokai*).[6] Six years later in 1878 the Sōtō school published the first modern biography of Keizan. Written by Takiya Takushū (1836-1897), who was at that time Sōjiji's chief Tokyo representative, the new biography had the clear intention of glorifying Keizan by emphasizing his and Sōjiji's importance in early Sōtō history. Three more biographies of Keizan were published in the prewar period, each written by successive abbots of Sōjiji and each intended to emphasize the

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[5]Tokugawa Ieyasu, *Eiheiji sho hatto* (1615:7), and *Sōjiji sho hatto* (1615:7), in *Komonjo*, nos. 28 and 109, 1:20-21 and 83-84.

[6]The full text of the compact (*meiyaku*), signed by Kuga Mitsuun (a.k.a. Kankei; 1817-1889) for Eiheiji and by Morotake Ekidō (1807-1879) for Sōjiji, is reproduced in Yokozeki Ryōin, *Sōtōshū hyakunen no ayumi* (Tokyo: Sōtōshū Shūmuchō, 1970), 20-22; and in Yoshioka Hakudō, "Meijiki no Eiheiji," in *Eiheijishi*, 2:1329-30.

importance of Keizan and Sōjiji.[7] These biographies have been widely used by non-Sōjiji (and even non-Sōtō) affiliated scholars, in spite of their sectarian orientation.

Following their formal truce, Sōjiji and Eiheiji continued to work together to modernize the structure of the Sōtō school.[8] A series of reforms followed in quick succession. Rules for the operation of temples were promulgated in 1876. That same year a formal Sōtō church (*kyōkai*) was organized in an attempt to bypass the rigid hierarchy of temple lineages.[9] The terms of the truce were strengthened in 1879. A constitution defining the relations between head and branch temples was established in 1882. The governing organization and administrative rules (*shūsei*) of the Sōtō school, including the terms of the 1872 truce, were registered with the government in 1885.[10] Finally, in 1888 the first handbook of Sōtō ritual and liturgy was distributed. Considering the history of bitter disputes between Sōjiji and Eiheiji over the details of proper monastic practices during the Tokugawa period, the codification of standard rituals represented a major achievement.

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[7]Major prewar biographies of Keizan published either by the Sōtō school or directly by Sōjiji are as follows: Takiya Takushū (1836-1896; who later served as Sōjiji's superintendent [*kan'in*]), *Sōji kaisan taiso ryakuden* (1878); Azegami Baisen (1825-1901; the 2d independent abbot of Sōjiji), *Sōji kaisan godenshō* (1900); Itō Dōkai (1874-1940; the 9th independent abbot of Sōjiji), *Jōzai daishi godenki* (1923); and Kohō Chisan (1879-1967; who later served as 18th independent abbot of Sōjiji), *Jōzai daishi no godenki* (1923). See Azuma, "Keizan Zenji kenkyū no dōkō," 1114-16.

[8]The following account is based on Yoshioka, "Meijiki no Eiheiji," 1354-77; Yokozeki, *Sōtōshū hyakunen*, 20-238; and Takeuchi Michio, *Sōtōshū kyōdanshi*, Shōwa Bukkyō Zenshū, 8:6 (Tokyo: Kyōiku Shinchōsha, 1971), 149-231.

[9]"Sōtō kyōkai jōrei" in Yokozeki, *Sōtōshū hyakunen*, 86-89.

[10]Yokozeki, *Sōtōshū hyakunen*, 124-27.

Sōjiji's Secession

The modernization of the Sōtō school gave new power to lay organizations and private committees. The early drafts of many of the above agreements had been proposed within private committees funded by the Sōtō hierarchy. By operating outside of established temple hierarchies, the committees were freed of rigid precedents. As the pace of modernization increased, however, unofficial committees formed in order to oppose the positions advocated by the official committees. Divisions along sectarian lines became impossible to smooth over. The election of officers to Eiheiji from the ranks of Sōjiji-affiliated temples, in particular, attracted severe criticism. In 1895 Takiya Takushū was elected to Eiheiji's abbotship even though at the time he had been serving as abbot of Saijōji (Kanagawa Pref.), a branch temple affiliated with Sōjiji. Takiya worked hard to smooth over differences between Sōjiji and Eiheiji. Conflict between the two head temples became unavoidable, however, when his successor also was elected from a post at Sōjiji in 1891.[11] Dissidents felt that these elections deprived Sōjiji of the best personnel while giving Eiheiji too much authority over Sōjiji's branch temples. In 1891 one group of these dissidents formed the Alliance to Reform the Sōtō School (*Sōtōshū kakushin dōmeikai*) to advocate the revival of Sōjiji's autonomy.[12]

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[11]Yokozeki, *Sōtōshū hyakunen*, 132-49.

[12]The stated goals of this group were to wipe away religious abuses (*shūbei senjo*), to promote Sōtō teachings (*kōgaku fukyō*) and correct administrative fiances (*rizai kyōsei*), but in essence these all centered on removing Eiheiji's power over the Sōtō school. See Yokozeki, *Sōtōshū hyakunen*, 217.

Sōjiji withdrew all recognition of Eiheiji and of its branch temples four months later in the beginning of 1892.[13] All agreements between the two monasteries from 1872 on were declared null and void. If successful this move would have sundered Eiheiji from the support of more than ninety percent of the Sōtō temples in Japan. To justify their actions, supporters of this autonomy movement published a series of tracts in which they made three key claims.[14] First, Dōgen had not founded the Japanese Sōtō school. Dōgen had merely introduced Chinese practices without ever attempting to organize a new Buddhist sect. Second, Keizan was the school's true founder. Keizan had established the new school's institutional base and had determined its fundamental religious practices. Third, the name "Sōtō school" originated at Sōjiji. Because Dōgen had rejected the designation "Sōtō," Sōjiji had become the first monastery in Japan to be referred to as "Sōtō" when Emperor Godaigo used that name in his edict of 1322 issued to Keizan.

Eiheiji rejected Sōjiji's autonomy and the assertions of its supporters on all counts. Supporters of Eiheiji's authority wrote their own studies of early Sōtō history in order to refute Sōjiji's claims.[15] On each point, they reached opposite conclusions. First, Dōgen was the

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[13]Yokozeki, *Sōtōshū hyakunen*, 217-18; Yoshioka, "Meijiki no Eiheiji," 1372.

[14]The main works by supporters of Sōjiji are Fukuyama Mokudō, *Nippon Sōtōshū meishōkō* (1891), Kuriyama Taion [a.k.a. Murakami Taion], *Nippon Tōjō kinen* (1892), Andō Tasshun, *Nōzan dokuritsu Sōtō kakushinron* (1892), and Kikuchi Daisen, *Sōtō shiryaku* (1896). In addition to these, Sōjiji supporters also issued two newsletters: *Nōgaku kyōhō* and *Katsuharan*.

[15]Early works that attempted to refute Sōjiji's position are Asaji Zekkei, *Sōtōshū shiyō* (1893) and Ōuchi Seiran, *Tōsui kairan* (n.d.). In addition to these, supporters of Eiheiji also issued two newsletters: *Tōjō shinhō* and *Kyōkai shishin*.

sole founder of the Japanese Sōtō school as demonstrated by his rejection of many aspects of Chinese Chan an by his having established his own training center at Kōshōji in Kyoto. Second, Keizan merely had inherited Dōgen's religion. Although Keizan had been instrumental in popularizing the Sōtō school, his contribution had been organizational, not religious. Third, the name "Sōtō school," being of Chinese origin, could not have been established by the Japanese court.[16] Moreover, the 1322 edict cited by Sōjiji was rejected as being an obvious forgery.

The split between Sōjiji and Eiheiji barely lasted two years, but the historical issues have never truly faded away. Ultimately Sōjiji found itself in an untenable position, not because of the inadequacy of its precedents or for lack of support but because it had failed to gain the approval of the Japanese government. According to the government, the truce between Sōjiji and Eiheiji (having been duly registered in 1885) had the force of law.[17] By the end of 1893 the government had forced the leaders of Sōjiji to resign their offices and issue a formal apology to Eiheiji. In response the leaders of Eiheiji

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[16]The origin of the name "Sōtō" is something of a mystery. Chinese sources describe the name "Caodong" (Jpn. "Sōtō") as having been derived from the first ideographs in the names of Dongshan Lianjie (Jpn. Tōzan Ryōkai, 807-869) and his disciple Caoshan Benji (Jpn. Sōzan Honjaku; 840-901). In Keizan's writings the same two ideographs are used to refer back to Caoxi Huineng (Jpn. Sōkei Enō; 638-713) and Dongshan. This combination, however, did not begin with Keizan. Kyōgō explicitly states that the "sō" of "Sōtō" refers to Huineng (*Shōbō genzōshō*, "Butsudō" chap., in *SBGZST*, 13:234). Caoxi is a more logical choice than Caoshan in view of the fact that the Caodong lineage descends from Dongshan through his disciple Yunju Daoying (Jpn. Unko Dōyō; d.902)--not Caoshan. See Ishii Shūdō, "Sōzan Honjaku no goisetsu no sōshō wo megutte," *SG*, 28 (1986): 158-163.

[17]Yokozeki, *Sōtōshū hyakunen*, 230-35.

also resigned their offices and gave a formal apology to Sōjiji.[18] At this time the compromise doctrines of "Two Head Temples, One Essence" and "Two Patriarchs, One Essence" were proclaimed. Officially, any independent veneration of Sōjiji or Eiheiji was to serve as veneration of both. Likewise, any differences between the doctrines contained in the writings of Dōgen and Keizan were to be viewed as alternate expressions of the same religious teaching.

These controversies have distorted both the degree of importance modern scholars have afforded Keizan and the manner in which his contributions to early Sōtō history have been interpreted. In contradiction to the formal Sōtō position, as the organizer of Japanese Sōtō or its great popularizer Keizan must be seen as a failure. Yōkōji, not Sōjiji, was the temple that Keizan had attempted to establish as the new center of Japanese Sōtō. Yet by the Meiji period when Sōjiji was asserting itself over Eiheiji, Yōkōji had been reduced to such poverty that the few monks still living there were forced to sell temple buildings in order to buy food.[19] Sōjiji was one of Yōkōji's branch temples in Keizan's day. It did not become powerful enough to eclipse Yōkōji until the early fifteenth century, nearly ninety years after Keizan's death. To explain the growth of Sōjiji one must examine the policies adopted by Gasan Jōseki, Sōjiji's first resident abbot, and by his disciples--not Keizan.

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[18]At this time Sōjiji's head officer (*kanshu*) was Azegami Baisen (1825-1901) and Eiheiji's was Morita Goyū (1834-1915). Shortly following their resignations, both were allowed to return to office, Azegami to Sōjiji and Morita to Eiheiji. Morita also acquired the title of Director in Chief (*kanchō*) of the Sōtō school in 1895.

[19]Yokoyama Hideo, "Yōkōji sōritsu no igi to sono garan ni tsuite," *SG*, 16 (1974): 19.

In terms of religious practice, however, Keizan has had an enormous influence on Japanese Sōtō Zen. Keizan's true importance is found in his ability to combine Dōgen's religion of meditation with the simple religious sentiments of rural Japanese. In order to clarify his contributions to early medieval Sōtō, the remainder of this chapter will focus on three areas: Keizan's attempt to insure the survival of the Sōtō line at Yōkōji, Keizan's religious personality, and the reasons why Sōjiji eventually surpassed Yōkōji.

The Founding of Yōkōji

The events leading up to Keizan's decision to leave Daijōji are unknown. Keizan had been an avid historian. He carefully chronicled the daily events in his own career, described in detail the religious devotion of his mother and his patrons, and lectured on the history of the Sōtō lineage. The biographies of Dōgen, Ejō, and Gikai comprising the *Daison gyōjōki* probably represent Keizan's efforts at hagiography.[20] The extant records of his activities, unfortunately, cover only his years at Yōkōji and Sōjiji. These writings contain many references to his past teachers and accomplishments, but are silent on past temple or patron relationships. We know that Keizan had appointed Meihō Sotetsu abbot of Daijōji in the tenth month of 1311. The following year, Shigeno Nobunao and his wife (later known as Sonin) of Noto Province invited Keizan to their residence to found the future Yōkōji.[21] Yet

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[20]Azuma Ryūshin, "'Gyōgōki' to 'Gyōjōki': 'Gyōjōki' no sakusha-seiritsu nendai no suitei," *SG*, 6 (1964): 101-5; and *Keizan Zenji no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1974): 124-27.

[21]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:237a; alt. in *JDZ*, 392-93. This date is tentitive since the text refers to "Shōwa 2 [i.e., 1313], the year of the Rat [i.e., 1312]." But it also states that Keizan returned a year later in 1313--suggesting that 1312 is the correct date.

Keizan did not formally leave Daijōji to begin residence at Yōkōji until five years later during the tenth month of 1317.[22]

The reasons for this delay are not clear. One cause must have the fact that Sonin herself did not receive writs of confirmation (*andojō*) for the land given to Yōkōji until the third month of 1317. Sonin had confirmation of these lands five years earlier after she purchased them from Sakai Toshitada and his brother Norikane.[23] Even without proper deeds, normally the land could have been utilized while the government writs were being processed. After all, Sonin was related to the Sakai family through her mother and already had received bills of sale to the land in 1310.[24] Financial difficulties also must have played a major role in delaying the founding of Yōkōji. The family of Shigeno Nobunao family held no powerful local positions, a marked contrast with the other early Sōtō patrons such as the Hatano, Kawajiri, Ijira and Togashi. Nobunao and Sonin donated the land for Yōkōji, but initially were unable to donate new temple buildings as well.[25] The death of Sonin's brother, Sakō Yorimoto, allowed Sonin to dismantle the Sakō family residence and have it rebuilt as an abbot's building for

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[22]Keizan wrote that Yōkōji's abbot's building was erected during the eighth month of 1317 and that his inauguration was conducted on the second day of the tenth month. See *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16: 237a; alt. in *JDZ*, 393.

[23][Hōjō Takatoki and Hōjō Sadaaki], *Kamakura shōgun migyōsho* (1317:3:3), in *Komonjo*, nos. 160-61, 1:118-9.

[24]Sakai Norikane and Sakai Toshitada, *Fujiwara Norikane baiken* (1310:8:3), *Fujiwara Norikane sarijō* (1310:8:3), *Fujiwara Toshitada baiken* (1310:8:3), *Fujiwara Toshitada sarijō* (1310:8:3), in *Komonjo*, nos. 156-59, 1:115-18. Regarding the Sakai family tree, see Kuriyama, *Gakuzan shiron*, 68.

[25]Matsuda Fumio, "Keizan Zenji no jinmiraisai okibumi ni tsuite: Yōkōji kaibyaku no haikei," *SG*, 12 (1970): 136.

Yōkōji. It was in this building that Keizan formally became Yōkōji's founding abbot in 1317.[26] Keizan described the abject poverty of his new temple by noting that pine needles had to be use instead of tea leaves for the Zen tea ceremony.[27]

To fully understand Keizan's policies at Yōkōji we must also consider other events of this period. By 1311 when Keizan appointed Meihō to succeed him as abbot of Daijōji, Gien already would have been very old and ready to retire from Eiheiji. Extant records do not state whether or not Keizan had considered himself a candidate for Gien's seat. He would have been a very likely choice. Keizan had studied under three of Eiheiji's four abbots, namely, Ejō, Gikai and Gien. He also had help positions of responsibility at Hōkyōji and Daijōji. When the Hatano requested Giun of Hōkyōji to become Eiheiji's next abbot in 1314, Keizan must have been disappointed. He later described Eiheiji as a place of obstructions, caused by its abbot's building being situated in an inauspicious location.[28] Also it is significant that within six years of Keizan's departure from Daijōji, Meihō already had lost the abbotship of Daijōji. We do not know when Meihō left Daijōji. Meihō had been at Yōkōji in 1317 for Keizan's inauguration and again in 1321 to receive a copy of the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*.[29] On these occasions, his permanent residence could have been either Daijōji or Yōkōji. In 1323 Meihō came to Yōkōji from Kyoto where he had performed memorial services for Eisai at Kenninji. That same year he was

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[26]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:237a; alt. in *JDZ*, 393.

[27]Ibid., in *SG*, 16:235b; alt. in *JDZ*, 397.

[28]Ibid., in *SG*, 16:237b; alt. in *JDZ*, 393.

[29]Daijōji Ms., in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 42; alt. *DZZ*, 2:271.

appointed the honorary supervisor of the monks' hall (*risso shuso*) at Yōkōji, indicating that he had become a full-time guest.[30]

Keizan must have known that Meihō would have difficulties at Daijōji even when he appointed Meihō as abbot. At that time Keizan had entrusted to Meihō the legal documents and land deeds that certified Daijōji's financial independence.[31] In spite of Keizan's precautions, the Togashi family replaced Meihō with the Rinzai-line monk Kyōō Unryō (1267-1341).[32] Keizan later wrote that this appointment was totally contrary to Gikai's intentions. He vowed that when Daijōji's patrons (Keizan did not mention the Togashi by name) regain correct reason, Gikai's line should be restored to Daijōji.[33] The fact that Keizan had no influence over the patron's relations with Unryō indicate that Keizan's own departure from Daijōji might have been caused by conflicts with the Togashi.[34] If conflicts had existed from the beginning, they would help to explain why Gikai had felt the need to further bolster the legitimacy of Keizan's Sōtō succession by entrusting Keizan with his

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[30]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:239b, ?44a; alt. in *JDZ*, 409, 410. The ceremony for appointing a *rissō shuso* is known as the "*rissō nyusshitsu.*"

[31]Keizan Jōkin, "Postscript" (1311:10:10), *Jōkin hōe fuzokujō*, in *Komonjo*, 1:528.

[32]The *Daijō renpōshi*, an old record of Daijōji's abbots edited by Sanshū Hakuryū (1669-1760), lists Kyōō Unryō as an unnumbered "former abbot" (*zenjū*) immediately after the third-generation abbot Meihō (see *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:577). The Rinzai-affiliated historian Mangen Shiban made the unlikely assertion that Keizan himself had requested Unryō to serve at Daijōji (see *Enpō dentōroku*, fasc. 15, in *NBZ*, 108:212).

[33]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:245a; alt. in *JDZ*, 417-18.

[34]Matsuda, "Keizan Zenji no jinmiraisai okibumi," 140.

(Gikai's) Darumashū documents.[35] These events at Eiheiji and Daijōji illustrate the precarious position of the Sōtō leadership at warrior-sponsored temples. Patrons could select new abbots regardless of the wishes or of the lineage affiliation of the previous abbot or temple founder.

Keizan's Policies at Yōkōji

In response to these circumstances, Keizan adopted several policies at Yōkōji in order to insure the future success of his new temple. First, he sought to guarantee continued cooperation from Yōkōji's founding patrons. He wrote that he had accepted the offer of Nobunao and Sonin to sponsor Yōkōji only after they both had pledged to never interfere with temple affairs. He carefully recorded the extent of their carte blanche:

> We [i.e., Nobunao and Sonin] will take absolutely no notice whether the temple thrives or decays. We are not concerned whether the master [i.e., Keizan] keeps the precepts or breaks the precepts. Likewise we will not interfere if [he] gives the land to a wife, child or relative, or even to outcasts (*hinin*) and beggars.[36]

One year after moving to Yōkōji, Keizan wrote formal instructions that the abbotship of Yōkōji is to be held only by his dharma descendants, each of whom should serve successive terms in the order of their dharma seniority.[37] An expanded version of Keizan's instructions, containing this same passage and dated one year later (1319), was signed by both

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[35]Gikai, *Gikan fuhōjō*, in *Komonjo*, 2:408-9. Also see above, chap. 3 (sec. on Gikai).

[36]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:237a; alt. in *JDZ*, 392.

[37]Keizan Jōkin, *Tōkoku jinmiraisai honji to nasubeki no okibumi* (1318:12:23), in *Shōbō genzō zatsubun*, copied 1515 by Juun; rpt. in Matsuda, "Keizan Zenji no jinmiraisai okibumi," 133-34.

Keizan and Sonin.[38] By obtaining Sonin's signature, Keizan had obligated Sonin and her descendants to support only his line at Yōkōji. Both versions of the instructions also admonished future generations to settle any disputes between patron and temple in a spirit of compromise.

Keizan's direct proselytizing further enhanced the prospects for maintaining the future cooperation of Yōkōji's patrons. In 1319 Keizan administered the precepts to Shigeno Nobunao's wife, giving her the Buddhist name "Sonin."[39] Two years later in 1321 Keizan also administered the precepts to Nobunao, giving him the Buddhist name "Myōjō."[40] These ordinations were not just ceremonial. A surviving copy of one of Keizan's lectures to Nobunao contains an abstruse exposition of the psychology of Zen meditation and repeated emphasis on the need to train under a true Zen master.[41] Keizan's other writings indicate that he also instructed Sonin in the mysteries of Zen.[42] Keizan's teachings also appealed to traditional faith in the mystical power of the Buddhas. In 1322 he dedicated at Yōkōji a special hall for the *bodhisattva* Kannon, the Enzūin, which he allowed Sonin to use as her own prayer chapel.[43] Keizan also administered the precepts to Sonin's mother when she made donations to Yōkōji, giving her the Buddhist name

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[38]Keizan Jōkin and Sonin, *Tōkokusan jinmiraisai okibumi* (1319:12:8), in *Komonjo*, no. 163, 1:120-21.

[39]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:238a; alt. in *JDZ*, 394.

[40]Ibid., in *SG*, 16:239a; alt. in *JDZ*, 400.

[41]*Tōkoku kaisan Keizan oshō no hōgo*, in *Shōbō genzō zatsubun;* rpt. in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 49-56.

[42]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:241b; alt. in *JDZ*, 401. The *JDZ* version of this passage is completely garbled.

[43]Ibid., in *SG*, 16:242; alt. in *JDZ*, 405-6.

"Shōzen." Likewise Keizan allowed the mother use of her own hermitage, the Zōkeian, at Yōkōji. Keizan further ordered that following the mother's death in 1325 the monks at Yōkōji must conduct both monthly and annual memorial services in her honor.[44]

Keizan regarded these memorial services as fitting repayment for the patronage he received. His attitude toward his patrons is revealed in his 1319 agreement with Sonin, in which he explicitly acknowledged his indebtedness:

> The Buddha once said, 'When [Buddhism] obtains a contributor of enthusiastic faith, Buddhism will never die out. . . .' And he also said, 'You should revere patrons as you would the Buddha. Precepts, meditation, wisdom and liberation all depend upon the power of patrons to attain completion. . . .' Accordingly, Keizan's Buddhist training during this rebirth depends upon this patron to attain completion [ellipses in original].[45]

The quotations in this passage most certainly had been derived from Dōgen's rules for the monastic supervisor (*kan'in*), the officer responsible for temple finances. Yet Keizan's wording differs significantly from Dōgen's original intentions. Dōgen had stated that the supervisor must first ascertain if the patron has correct faith and understanding before accepting any contributions. If the patron lacked proper understanding, his contributions were not to be accepted.[46] Keizan, however, believed that all contributions were to be accepted with gratitude. Keizan reworded Dōgen's statement so as to confer new

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[44]See Keizan Jōkin, *Yōkōji kiden chūmon* (1323:10:9), in *Komonjo*, no. 165, 1:123; *Tōzan jōjō jinmiraisai gongyō to nasubeki koto* (1325:7:18), in *Komonjo*, no. 169, 1:126-27; and *Ji Shōzen shikō*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 66.

[45]*Tōkokusan jinmiraisai okibumi*, in *Komonjo*, 1:120-21.

[46]*Nipponkoku Echizen Eiheiji chiji shingi* (1246:6:15), in *DZZ*, 2:335-36.

importance on the contributions of the lay patrons--importance that justified deferential treatment.

Keizan obtained contributions from other patrons to supplement the support provided by Sonin and her family. The Buddha hall, bath house and latrine at Yōkōji all were donated by individual local patrons. Each of the three main images for the Buddha hall was donated by a separate contributor. Keizan recorded each of these contributions, carefully noting the prayers that had accompanied each donation. These prayers reveal the traditional religious concerns of Yōkōji's patrons, namely, to eliminate the ill karmic effects of past actions (*metsuzai*), to promote to the future enlightenment of deceased relatives (*tsuizen*), and to insure worldly success (*ganbō manzoku*).[47] When Keizan received each donation, he probably led the monks at Yōkōji in scripture chanting ceremonies to pray for the fulfillment of the hopes of these patrons. This can be inferred from the regulations for special meals that appear in the monastic codes used at Yōkōji. According to these rules, whenever a patron sponsors a meal for the monastery community the monks should perform either a group chanting ceremony or provide a special lecture in accordance with the requests of the patron.[48] These regulations describe other rituals that routinely conclude with prayers for the prosperity of temple patrons.[49]

Keizan's willingness to perform ritual prayers for his patrons often has been identified with the introduction of esoteric Buddhism into Sōtō Zen monasticism. The use of the term "esoteric," however, can

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[47] *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:238a, 239a; alt. in *JDZ*, 394-95.

[48] *Tōkoku shingi*, fasc. 1, in *JDZ*, 276-77.

[49] *Tōkoku shingi*, fasc. 1, in *JDZ*, 273-76, 280.

be misleading if not clearly defined. There is no doubt that Keizan had believed in the purity of his own Zen practice. He had criticized Eisai for mixing esoteric Buddhism with Zen practice.[50] Moreover, in Keizan's extant writings and in Yōkōji's monastic codes there appears only one ritual derived exclusively from the esoteric Buddhist tradition, namely, the offering of food for hungry ghosts (*segaki*).[51] By Keizan's time, even this ceremony already had begun to lose its sectarian affiliations. Most of the esoteric elements found in Yōkōji's monastic codes are practices that previously had been a part of Zen monasticism, such as the chanting of mystical formula (*dhāraṇī*). Chinese Chan monastic codes composed during Keizan's lifetime include similar references to popular Chinese religious practices (i.e., the worship of folk deities, local spirits, and influential stars).[52] The influence of esoteric Buddhism in Keizan's monastic policies, therefore, is found more in his attitude toward patrons than in any overt syncretism. The Yōkōji monastic codes and esoteric Buddhist tradition both include prayers for the worldly prosperity of monastic patrons. Yet the vast majority of the ritual prayers in Yōkōji's monastic codes concern general thanksgiving or the purity of monastic life. Of the seventeen different types of prayers mentioned in the code, only three request worldly prosperity.[53]

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[50]*Denkōroku*, patriarch 51, 110.

[51]The *Tōkoku shingi* (fasc. 2) states that a *segaki* was performed in 1324. If true, this probably would be the earliest example of the *segaki* being performed by Zen monks. See the 1432 Daijōji Ms. in *SZ*, 2, *Shūgen*, 2:688-90; in *JDZ*, 345-49.

[52]Kagamishima Genryū, "Shingi shijō ni okeru 'Keizan shingi,'" 223. These Chinese codes are the *Chanlin beiyong qinggui* (1311) and the *Huanzhuan qinggui* (1317).

[53]Miyamoto Rikan, "Keizan shingi no ichi kōsatsu," *SG*, 17 (1975): 105-10.

In addition to securing the support of his patrons, Keizan also sought to insure that each of his disciples and their dharma descendants always would work together to maintain Yōkōji. The first pair of instructions cited above had obligated Keizan's own disciples to return to Yōkōji to serve as abbots. In other words, Keizan founded Yōkōji from the first with the same system of alternating abbot succession as had been developed gradually at Giin's Daijiji. This system--which offered each disciple and each of his dharma descendants a turn as abbot--later would become a distinctive feature of most major Sōtō monasteries. Keizan gave further instructions regarding the succession to Yōkōji's abbotship to six of his leading disciples in 1325, only one month before his death. He reminded them that Yōkōji's abbotship must first be filled by his own dharma heirs. Keizan then noted that he already had four heirs, was about to have another and also had one heir of an heir. Keizan admonished all six disciples to work together to elect proper abbots to Yōkōji.[54] These six disciples were: Meihō Sotetsu, Mugai Chikō (d.1351), Gasan Jōseki, Koan Shikan (d. 1341), Kohō Kakumyō (1271-1361), and Genshō Chinzan (the posthumous heir of Keizan's deceased disciple Genka Tekkyō; d.1321).[55] Of these six, the first four later served as abbots at Yōkōji. The fifth, Kakumyō, inherited Keizan's dharma three weeks later, but left Yōkōji on the following

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[54]*Tōkokuki* [entry dated 1325:7:2], in *SG*, 16:235a; alt. in *JDZ*, 433.

[55]Regarding Genshō Chinzan and Genka Tekkyō, see *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:238b, 239b; alt. in *JDZ*, 399, 410; *Tōkoku kaisan oshō jijaku saimon* (1325:8:15), in *Zenrin gashōshū*, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 9a; and *Rentōroku*, fasc. 2, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:251-52.

morning to take up residence in Izumo where he assumed a Rinzai lineage.[56] The fate of Genshō Chinzan is unknown.

Keizan elected his disciples not just to Yōkōji's abbotship, but to the abbotships of other temples as well. This provided each disciple with the potential for building a local base of support from which future abbots could be promoted to Yōkōji. In 1323 Keizan had drawn up a list of eight temples--including Daijōji and Yōkōji--to be allotted among his disciples.[57] The origins of four of these eight temples are obscure. If Yōkōji was a typical example, then the other temples also probably had been small, one-building chapels erected by minor land owners, originally without any resident clergy. Two of them had been founded by Keizan's mother, Ekan (d. ca.1314). Ekan had been the abbess at one temple (Jōjūji) at the time of Gikai's funeral in 1309.[58] That temple was left to Mugai Chikō, but the other temple founded by Ekan (Hōōji) remained a convent for Sōtō nuns. Keizan appointed Ekan's niece (his own cousin), Myōshō, to be its abbess. Three of the eight temples were not allocated, namely, Daijōji, Yōkōji, and Sōjiji. Daijōji, as mentioned earlier, was no longer within Keizan's control. Yōkōji was not turned over to Meihō until the eighth month of 1325, only one week before Keizan's death.[59] Regarding Sōjiji,

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[56] *Tōkokuki* [entry dated 1325:7:28], in *SG*, 16:235a-b; alt. in *JDZ*, 434.

[57] *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:244-45; alt. in *JDZ*, 416-18. Unless noted otherwise, all the information in this paragraph is based on this document.

[58] *Gikai sōki* (1309:10:3), comp. Keizan Jōkin, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 1a.

[59] Keizan Jōkin, *Jōkin yuzurijō* (1325:8:8), in *Komonjo*, no. 1407, 2:409-10.

Keizan merely noted that it should be converted to a Zen temple even though its patron still lacked proper faith. Keizan was not able to effect that conversion, however, until the fifth month of 1324. Two months later he bequeathed its abbotship to Gasan.[60]

Keizan also had attempted to endow Yōkōji with special status among Japanese Sōtō temples. In 1323 Keizan founded a shrine on a hill known as Gorōhō (Five Masters' Peak) at Yōkōji to serve as a mausoleum for his own remains and for the relics of the patriarchs of the Japanese Sōtō school.[61] Therein he interned a copy of Rujing's *goroku*, a fragment of one of Dōgen's bones, a *sūtra* that Ejō had copied using his own blood as ink, and pieces of Gikai's bones, Gikai's Darumashū succession certificate and other belongings.[62] One month after conducting the dedication service for the completed mausoleum, Keizan drew up the list of eight temples cited above. In these instructions he stressed the importance of this mausoleum. According to Keizan, it was to be revered as a shrine by the monks of all Sōtō temples. This meant that every year when memorial services were performed at Yōkōji for the patriarchs enshrined within Gorōhō, representatives from each of the other Sōtō temples would be expected to participate in and contribute to the ceremonies. If enacted according to plan, these annual ceremonies would have insured that Yōkōji would receive financial donations from all the monasteries associated with Keizan's lineage.

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[60]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:234a-b; alt. in *JDZ*, 430-31. The early history of Sōjiji will be discussed in more detail below.

[61]This mausoleum (the Dentōin) later was moved to the base of Gorōhō. See Yokoyama, "Yōkōji sōritsu no igi," 19b.

[62]*Gosoku ryakuki*, in *JDZ*, 412-16.

In short, Keizan's efforts to provide a solid foundation for Yōkōji's future growth were directed both toward his patrons and toward his disciples. In order to insure that his patrons would continue to provide support for Yōkōji, Keizan (1) had elicited and recorded their pledge to never interfere in temple affairs, (2) had attempted to convert them to faith in the Zen transmission, (3) had strongly expressed his gratitude for their contributions, using words that compared the importance of the patron to that of the Buddha, and (5) had performed special services in return for contributions. In order to insure that all of his disciples and their heirs would cooperate in managing Yōkōji's affairs, Keizan (1) had directed that Yōkōji's abbotship be shared among his heirs, each one of whom were obligated to serve, (2) had provided his disciples with their own temples, and (3) had attempted to link all of those temples to Yōkōji through the veneration of the shrine for Sōtō patriarchs at Gorōhō. These overlapping policies demonstrate Keizan's deep concern for Yōkōji's future and the great creativeness with which he attempted to promote its prosperity.

Keizan's Religious Personality

The religious personality revealed in Keizan's numerous writings is especially significant because Keizan exhibited in abundance many of the qualities that typify other leading medieval Sōtō monks. In spite of Keizan's stature in the modern Sōtō school, his more prominent religious and personal traits rarely have been evaluated within the larger context of the development of medieval Sōtō Zen. In that context, Keizan's most important trait was his ability to fuse vigorous Zen instruction and practice with strong faith in the efficacy and

necessity of supplicating Japanese spirits and Buddhist divinities. This fusion, its origins and effects, will be explored through the following four aspects of Keizan's personality: his close relationships with women; his affirmation of magico-religious faith; his shamanistic tendencies; and his Zen practice.

Keizan's religious development was influenced greatly by the women in his life. Having powerful women supporters was not unusual in Japanese Buddhism. Women appear among the patrons of many early Japanese Zen monks, including Dōgen and Giin.[63] Keizan learned his religious devotion from his mother and grandmother. Interestingly, his writings never mention his father. Keizan was raised for his first eight years by his grandmother, Myōchi, who had been one of Dōgen's first patrons upon his return from China.[64] Probably she originally had been a lay disciple of Myōzen, Dōgen's first teacher.[65] Keizan's links to the Sōtō school had began, literally, before his worldly existence. Keizan had left home to become a novice at Eiheiji while still a child--when he was only eight years old. His decision to become a monk might have been prompted either by his grandmother's urging or possibly by her death. In later life, Keizan praised Sonin (Yōkōji's main patron) as the reincarnation of his grandmother. He stated that as teacher and disciple, he and Sonin were inseparable.[66] At Yōkōji, Keizan symbolized

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[63]Furuta Shōkin, "Chūsei Zenrin in okeru jōsei no nyūshin" (1977); rpt. in *Zenshūshi kenkyū*, Furuta Shōkin Chōsakushū (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1981), 265-83.

[64]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:238b, 244b; alt. in *JDZ*, 394-95, 416.

[65]Nakaseko Shōdō, "Myōchi ubai (taiso no sobo) ni tsuite," in *Keizan Zenji Kenkyū*, 1060-73.

[66]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:238b; alt. in *JDZ*, 394-95.

his bonds to his grandmother and to Sonin by dedicating the Enzūin Kannon chapel to the memory of Myōchi while providing use of the building to Sonin.[67]

Keizan's mother, Ekan, also appears repeatedly in his writings. As mentioned above, she had become the abbess of a Sōtō convent while Gikai was still alive. Ekan maintained a strong maternal interest in her son's career even though she had retired from secular affairs. Keizan wrote that her stern admonitions had checked his growing arrogance when he first rose to prominence under Jakuen at Hōkyōji.[68] The statue of Kannon that Keizan placed in the Enzūin originally had belonged to her. Ekan had attributed many miracles to the mysterious power of Kannon and Keizan believed her. He wrote that all the major events in his life, from his own birth, through his becoming a monk and his dharma succession, to his becoming abbot of Yōkōji, had been due to his mother's faith in and constant prayers to Kannon.[69] Accounts of Kannon calling forth the birth of illustrious monks is a standard hagiographical element in Buddhist biographical literature. Yet for Keizan, this assertion was no mere pious legend but an autobiographical fact.[70] Perhaps Keizan would have promoted worship of Kannon even without his mother's influence. Yet we cannot doubt that her faith gave added impetus to the popularization of Kannon worship in medieval

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[67]Ibid., in *SG*, 16:244b; alt. in *JDZ*, 416.

[68]"Enzūin enki," in *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:242; alt. in *JDZ*, 406.

[69]Ibid., in *SG*, 16:242; alt. in *JDZ*, 405-6.

[70]Kawakubo Junkō, "Taiso no shūkyō no rekishiteki seikaku: Toku ni sono shakaiteki haikei ni tsuite," in *Keizan Zenji kenkyū*, 65.

Sōtō.[71] Ekan's influence remained strong throughout Keizan's life. In a pair of Buddhist vows composed shortly before his death, Keizan attributed the aspirations expressed in each vow to Jakuen's memory and to his mother's dying admonitions.[72] In this document Keizan also praised Ekan for having dedicated her life to teaching Buddhism to women. Keizan inherited her dedication. His disciple Ekyū was the first nun known to have received a Sōtō dharma transmission.[73] To help her overcome the difficulties of Chinese, Keizan rewrote Dōgen's explanation of the precepts in the Japanese phonetic syllabary.[74]

Keizan inherited the diverse magico-religious beliefs of medieval Japan just as he had accepted his mother's faith in Kannon. His writings exalt the minor protective gods associated with Buddhism (such as Bishamon and Karaten), the special beings revered in Zen tradition (such as Shōhō and the *rakan*), as well as native Japanese *kami* (such as Inari, Hachiman and the *kami* of the province).[75] Keizan

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[71]Of the modern Sōtō school's reported 14.7 thousand temples, more than 3.8 thousand enshrine Kannon as their central image. See Sakauchi Ryūyū, "Sōtōshū ni okeru mikkyō no juyō," *SG*, 16 (1974): 39.

[72]Keizan, *Jōkin hotsuganmon*, in *Komonjo*, 1:125-26.

[73]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:239b; alt. in *JDZ*, 410.

[74]Keizan Jōkin, *Busso shōden bosatsukai kyōjumon*, transmitted 1323:8:28 to Ekyū, in *DZZ*, 2:282-285.

[75]Bishamon, one of the four guardian kings, had been worshiped as a protector of Buddhism since the earliest days of Japanese Buddhism. Likewise, Karaten (a.k.a. Daikokuten) had been especially revered within the early Japanese Tendai tradition as a protector of temples. In Zen, the *rakan* (Skt. *arhat*) are the sixteen supernatural beings who protect Buddhism until the next Buddha will appear. Shōhō derives from the guardian spirit of the Zhaobaosi (Jpn. Shōhōji; a major monastery situated within the Zhoushan Islands) who is regarded as the protector of Japanese Sōtō monasteries. At Yōkōji, one area where edible wild plants grew (i.e., Aohara) was known as the Inari Peak (see *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:240; alt. in *JDZ*, 402). The "*kami* of the province" refers to the main provincial shrine (*ichi no miya*). All of these beings and many more are mentioned repeatedly in the *Tōkokuki* and *Tōkoku shingi*.

believed that all of these divinities protected Buddhism and rewarded the faithful. To insure the success of his temples, Keizan calculated the power of directional influences and the geomancy of the surrounding hills. He timed special events to take advantage of the astrological influences of favorable stars. For example, in his record of the construction of Yōkōji's Buddha Hall, Keizan wrote that the excavating, the laying of the foundation stones, the erecting of the pillars, the fixing of the roof and the final dedication all had been performed on particularly auspicious days. Likewise, Keizan had consulted a Buddhist astrology manual, the *Shukuyōgyō* (Ch. *Xiuyaojing*), in order to select the day for the ceremonial opening of Yōkōji's Lecture Hall.[76] The repeated references to the above practices (i.e., astrology, geomancy and the power of worship) in Keizan's writings testify to his own deep faith in their validity.

Keizan's faith in the mystical powers of spirits and of divination was rooted in his own powers of shamanistic communication. Keizan repeatedly conjured visions and spoke to spirits in his mystical dreams.[77] Shamanistic elements are not unusual in meditative traditions such as Zen. Dōgen, for instance, had met Chinese Chan masters who relied upon dreams to see the future.[78] Yet Keizan relied

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[76] *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:243a, 231a; alt. in *JDZ*, 407-8, 422.

[77] Kuriyama Taion (*Sōjijishi*, 141) counted eighteen accounts of mystical dreams or visions in the *Tōkokuki* (Keizan's chronicles at Yōkōji compiled ca. 1317-1325) while Miyamoto Rikan ("Keizan Zenji no dendō ni tsuite no ichi kōsatsu," *SG*, 16 [1974]: 171) reports that the *Tōkokuki* contains twenty-three accounts of Keizan's visions and mentions three more experienced by other people. Accounts of more visions are found in Keizan's other writings.

[78] *SBGZ*, "Shisho" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:344.

upon his visions to guide every step of his career. According to Keizan's own accounts, he selected the location for the Abbot's Building at Yōkōji based on the approval of a visiting *rakan*.[79] He enshrined an image of Bishamon after perceiving a promise of protection in a dream.[80] He decided to convert Sōjiji to a Zen temple only after Kannon appeared to request him to do so.[81] When someone questioned the proper geomancy of the mausoleum at Gorōhō, Keizan wrote that he thought to himself, "At this monastery, from the very beginning, in all matters I have relied upon the interpretation of my dreams. . . ." and then decided that his next vision would determine the location of the mausoleum.[82] This ability to contact the spirits in order to learn their will is typical of traditional Japanese shamanism.[83] By combining shamanistic visions with Buddhist faith, Keizan attained unwavering self-confidence. In his mind, the Buddhas of the past (Vipaśyin), present (Śākyamuni) and future (Maitreya) all confirmed his enlightenment.[84] The supernatural beings of this world all promised the prosperity of Yōkōji.[85]

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[79]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:236a, 237b; alt. in *JDZ*, 397, 392-93.

[80]Ibid., in *SG*, 16:237b; alt. in *JDZ*, 393.

[81]Keizan, *Sōjiji chūkō enki*, in *Komonjo*, 1:33-34.

[82]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:243; alt. in *JDZ*, 409.

[83]Ichiro Hori, *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change*, ed. Joseph M. Kitagawa and Alan L. Miller (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1968), 181-215; and Carmen Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1975), 194-97.

[84]See Keizan's autobiography, *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:238-39; alt. in *JDZ*, 395-96..

[85]Ibid., in *SG*, 16:237b; alt. in *JDZ*, 393-94.

The final major component of Keizan's religious personality is his Zen Buddhism. Normally in describing a Zen monk there would be no need to state so obvious a fact. Modern descriptions of Keizan's life, however, rarely examine his Zen practice. Yet Keizan was first and foremost a Zen master. He believed in that the Zen tradition represented the only true transmission of Buddhism.[86] Keizan emphasized the legitimacy of his Zen transmission by lecturing on the patriarchs of the Sōtō line. Only his lectures at Daijōji were preserved (as the *Denkōroku*), but he also repeated his lectures at Yōkōji.[87] At both monasteries he also interned relics of the Japanese Sōtō patriarchs.[88] At Yōkōji these relics formed the shrine of patriarchs at Gorōhō, which Keizan dedicated by composing biographies of each patriarch beginning with Rujing.[89] The monastic codes used at Yōkōji repeatedly cite Eisai, Rujing and Dōgen as the authoritative source of the monastic routines.[90] Keizan signed his writings by identifying himself as a Zen master in the fifty-fourth generation of the Buddha's Dharma. Like Dōgen, he stressed the necessity of studying under a proper Zen teacher, even if the student already is self-enlightened.[91]

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[86]See, for example, *Denkōroku*, patriarch 51, 110-11; and *Tōkoku kaisan Keizan oshō no hōgo*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 54-55.

[87]The Yōkōji lectures are mentioned in *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:239b-40a; alt. in *JDZ*, 420-21.

[88]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:245a; alt. in *JDZ*, 418; and Azuma, *Keizan Zenji no kenkyū*, 122-23.

[89]*Gosoku ryakuki*, in *JDZ*, 411-16.

[90]*Tōkoku shingi*, in *JDZ*, 260, 261 for Eisai; 270, 313, 334, 335 for Rujing; and 270, 284, 313, 335, 344 for Dōgen.

[91]*Tōkoku kaisan Keizan oshō no hōgo*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 56; and *Tōkoku goso gyōjitsu*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:598b.

Extant records reveal only the outlines of Keizan's Zen teachings. Initial instruction centered on participation in monastic life. Novice monks were required to study seven texts, consisting of three Buddhist scriptures and four Zen manuals.[92] The three scriptures were: the *Hokekyō* (i.e., the *Lotus Sūtra*), which is a fundamental scripture of Mahāyāna Buddhism; the *Bonmōkyō*, which explains the Mahāyāna precepts; and the *Yuikyōgyō*, which purports to convey the Buddha's final exhortations. The *Yuikyōgyō* had been especially popular in Chinese Chan and had formed the basis for the last *Shōbō genzō* chapter (i.e., "Hachi dainingaku") written by Dōgen. The four Zen manuals all had been composed by Dōgen.[93] They were: *Bendōhō* (rules for daily life in the monks' hall); *Fushukuhanhō* (etiquette for monastic meals); *Shuryō shingi* (rules for use of the library); and *Taitaikohō* (etiquette for behavior in the presence of senior monks). In addition, the monastic codes at Yōkōji states that monks also should consult "Senmen" and "Senjō" (two chapters in Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* that describe the proper method of washing ones face and using the toilet), as well as *Shishihō* (a list of rules for respectful behavior before Buddhist teachers that had been cited in Dōgen's *Taitaikohō*).[94] On the first day of each month, Yōkōji monks preformed a group recitation of the *Kikyōmon* (Ch. *Quijingwen*), a brief exhortation that describes how Zen monastic

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[92]*Hosshin sasō no koto*, in *Tōkokuki*, in *JDZ*, 450-51.

[93]See *DZZ*, vol. 2, as follows: *Bendōhō*, 313-19; *Fushukuhanhō*, 348-57; *Shuryō shingi*, 363-66; and *Taitaikohō*, 308-12.

[94]*Tōkoku shingi*, in *JDZ*, 265. The *Shishihō* cited by Dōgen (in *DZZ*, 2:308) probably refers to *T*, no. 1687.

officers should revere the Buddhist Dharma.[95] On the eleventh and twenty-first days of each month the *Shuryō shingi* and *Taitaikohō* also were recited at Yōkōji--a practice reportedly initiated at Eiheiji by Dōgen.[96] Keizan also composed two manuals (the *Zazen yōjinki* and *Sankon zazensetsu*) to guide his disciples through the practical details of Zen meditation.[97]

Keizan's emphasis on monastic life indicates that he maintained the doctrine of monastic practice as the embodiment of Zen enlightenment taught by Dōgen. The fact that two of Keizan's students, Kohō Kakumyō and Daichi, came to Yōkōji only after years of training under the leading Chan masters of China attests to the vigor of the Zen practice Keizan established at Yōkōji.[98] A later incident between Kohō and his disciple Bassui Tokushō (1327-1387) well illustrates both the concern with monastic decorum Kohō learned from Keizan and the differences in emphasis taught in the early medieval Sōtō and Rinzai lineages.[99] Kohō fully mastered Keizan's Zen and inherited Keizan's lineage, but after leaving Yōkōji he assumed the Rinzai lineage of Shinchi Kakushin (1207-1298) and taught only at Rinzai monasteries. Yet many Rinzai monks

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[95]The *Quijingwen*, is included in the *Chanyuan qinggui*, fasc. 8; rev. edn. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 269-79.

[96]See *Tōkoku shingi*, in *SZ*, 2, *Shūgen*, 2:687b; alt. in *JDZ*, 344; and *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 72.

[97]See *JDZ*, 243-52. The description of Zen meditation in these manuals will be discussed in chapter 5.

[98]Kakumyō studied in China from 1311 until ca.1320. Daichi studied in China from 1314 until 1324, but did not return to Japan until 1325 because he was shipwreaked in Korea.

[99]Regarding these monks, see Azuma Ryūshin, "Shoki no Nihon Sōtōshū to Rinzai Hottoha to no kōshō," in *Zen shisō to sono haikei*, Okamoto Sokō Hakase Kiju Kinenshū (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1975), 293-323.

chafed under the strict monastic routines established by Kohō. His most illustrious disciple, Bassui, refused to reside inside the monastery, complaining that he had come to attain Zen enlightenment not to learn etiquette.[100] Through Bassui's complaint we know that Keizan had transmitted Dōgen's insistence on the unity of practice and enlightenment. Yet Keizan's Zen also differed from that introduced by Dōgen. Keizan combined Dōgen's monasticism with his own belief in the power of worship, the practice of geomancy, and his shamanistic tendencies. This fusion--Keizan's Zen--marks the full emergence of the dual religious nature that characterized later Sōtō, namely, an affirmation of traditional Japanese religious traditions combined with strict Zen monastic practice.

The Founding of Sōjiji

Sōjiji began as the Morookadera. It was a small chapel within the precincts of the Morooka Hiko Jinja--the local shrine of the Fugeshi District in the northern half of the Noto Peninsula.[101] Typically, small local shrines (and shrine chapels) of this type would not require any full-time priests. In 1296, however, a local military official donated land income to the Morookadera to provide support for a resident priest named Jōken. This anonymous warrior hired Jōken, a master (i.e., *ajari*) of esoteric Buddhism with the impressive title of Assistant Disciplinarian of Monks (*gon risshi*), to perform ritual prayers, including the fire invocation (*goma*), on the seventeenth of each month

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[100] Tsūhō Meidō (d.1395), *Bassui oshō gyōjitsu*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 9:638a.

[101] See Shimonaka Yasaburō, comp., *Shintō dai jiten* (Tokyo: Hiebonsha, 1937-1940), s.v. "Morooka Hiko jinja," 3:351b-c; and Kuriyama Taion, *Sōjijishi*, 134-38.

for the fulfillment of his (the official's) worldly desires and religious salvation.[102] Jōken remained at the Morookadera for the next twenty-five years, training disciples in the use of *maṇḍala* and other esoteric rituals. Then in 1321 when the Morooka Hiko Jinja was relocated from its original site to a neighboring estate, Jōken moved with the shrine to found a new temple (which eventually became known as Hōsenji).[103] At the time of this move, Jōken placed the Morookadera under Keizan's guardianship (*ushiromi*).[104] The reasons why the shrine was moved and the nature of the relationship between Jōken and Keizan are not known. Keizan left no record of the responsibilities he promised to assume as part of his guardianship.

Instead, Keizan immediately proclaimed the conversion of the Morooka temple to the Zen school. He wrote a short tract, the *Sōjiji chūkō engi* (The History of the Revival of Sōjiji), to argue the following three points: that Morooka was an old, venerable temple worthy of continued patronage; that Keizan should take over control of the temple, giving it the new name "Sōjiji"; and that the local people would thereby obtain greater benefit from worshiping at the new Sōjiji.[105] In support of his first point, Keizan stated that the image of Kannon enshrined in the temple is extremely powerful--radiating Buddhist energy in all directions--because the temple originally had

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[102] *Ryōke Sakurai bō kishinjō* (1296:11:21), in *Komonjo*, no. 1964, 3:1. This document refers to "seventeen days," but later documents consistently refer to the "seventeenth day."

[103] Satō Shunkō, "Sekidōzan shinkō to Noto Keizan kyōdan," *Shūkyōgaku ronshū*, 12 (1985): 95-97.

[104] Jōken, *Gon risshi Jōken sadamegaki* (1321:7:22), in *Komonjo*, no. 1965, 3:2.

[105] *Sōjiji chūkō engi*, in *Komonjo*, 1:33-34.

been founded by Gyōgi, the eighth-century Buddhist hero. To justify his own role, Keizan attempted to demonstrate that he was not acting out of selfish motivation. He claimed that Kannon had requested that the temple to be converted into a Zen center. According to Keizan, Kannon and Kannon's mystical messengers, as well as the other protective spirits of the temple all had appeared in his dreams to invite him to Morooka. It was a request he could not ignore. To argue his final point, Keizan offered new benefits from the Hōkō *bosatsu* that the new Zen temple would have enshrined in the second story of its main gate. Keizan stated that this *bodhisattva* was worshiped by the empresses of Japan and China to insure the easy delivery of male children. He promised that local women also would receive similar benefits.

The summer of 1321 when Jōken placed the Morooka temple under Keizan's guardianship and Keizan composed the *Sōjiji chūkō engi* usually is regarded as the date of the founding of Sōjiji. It is doubtful, however, whether any conversion into a Zen monastery had been realized immediately. Following the *Sōjiji chūkō engi*, the next reference to Sōjiji in Keizan's writings does not appear until two years later during the tenth month of 1323, when Keizan noted that Jōken had desired that Sōjiji not be abandoned even though its patron lacks proper faith.[106] As will be explained below, Keizan's statement that Sōjiji's patron lacked proper faith probably referred to continual demands by the patron for the performance of traditional esoteric rituals. One year after having noted down the above comments, during the fifth month of 1324 Keizan journeyed to Sōjiji to formally open its monks' hall. Two months later he installed Gasan as Sōjiji's first full-time Zen abbot. On that

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[106] *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:245; alt. in *JDZ*, 418.

evening and on the following day Keizan ordained twenty-eight new Zen monks who thereupon constituted Sōjiji first community.[107] At that point--with a monks' hall in which to practice meditation, a full-time Zen master, and a community of disciples in place--Sōjiji first acquired the characteristics of a proper Zen monastery. Jōken, however, did not relinquish full control of Sōjiji to Gasan until 1329, more than three years after Keizan's death.[108] Moreover, contributions to the new Zen monastery continued to be addressed to "Morookadera" until as late as 1341.[109]

Sōjiji continued to be known as Morookadera because in the eyes of its main patrons it remained the same temple as before. The documents in which patrons recorded their contributions to Morookadera reveal a remarkably consistency throughout Sōjiji's early history.[110] In 1296, Jōken had been installed at Morooka to perform esoteric prayers on the seventeenth of each month for the local *ryōke* (i.e., the family holding the main proprietorial rights to the estate income). In 1327--three years after Gasan had become abbot of Sōjiji--additional lands were donated to the temple for the chanting of scripture on the seventeenth of each month as prayers for the security of the *ryōke* in

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[107]Ibid., in *SG*, 16:234a-b; alt. in *JDZ*, 430-31.

[108]Jōken, *Jōken risshi Gasan oshō tōji se'nyūjō* (1329:2:13), rpt. in Azuma Ryūshin, *Keizan Zenji no kenkyū*, 236. For a title, I have used the entry for this document in two early Sōjiji catalogues, namely, Taigen Sōshin et al., *Sōjiji jōjū monjo mokuroku* (1366:12:5), and Tsūgen Jakurei, *Sōjiji jōjū monjo mokuroku* (1382:10), in *Komonjo*, nos. 1973 and 1976, 3:7-8, 9-10.

[109]See, for example, *Saemonjō Taira bō kishinjō* (1341:int.4:16), in *Komonjo*, no. 54, 1:39.

[110]The documents cited below were analyzed by Yamahata Shōdō, "Keizan Zenji no Zenfū ni tsuite: Toku ni mikkyō yōso no dōnyū to dan'otsu ni tsuite," *SG*, 10 (1968): 186-92.

this life and his salvation in the next.[111] In 1333 another contribution made in the name of the *ryōke* requests readings of one particular scripture, the *Dai hannyakyō*, as prayers for the security of the imperial court, for the long life of the emperor and for the worldly success of the *ryōke*.[112] One year later in 1334 the local military steward (*jitō*) donated land for the building of a shrine to Shōden (an esoteric Buddhist divinity having the head of an elephant and the body of a man) in order to pray for the fulfillment of the emperor's ambitions and for military victories.[113] The following year (1335) the lands that were to provide offerings for Shōden were specified.[114] In 1337 an unsigned directive was issued to Morookadera demanding regular ritual prayers "in accordance with past precedents."[115] Finally in 1341 another directive reminded Morookadera that it must faithfully perform the prayers requested at the time the *ryōke* gave his original donation forty-five years earlier in 1296.[116]

The above records demonstrate the influence temple patrons exerted over the religious life of rural Zen monasteries. The religious expectations of patrons played a larger role in the adaption of esoteric

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[111] *Azukaridokoro Kamo bō kishinjō* (1327:1:16), in *Komonjo*, no. 1967, 3:2-3.

[112] *Ryōke bō kishinjō* (1333:12), in *Komonjo*, no. 50, 1:37.

[113] *Jitō shami bō kishinjō* (1334:11:20), in *Komonjo*, no. 51, 1:37-38.

[114] *Jitō Masadokoro bō sadamegaki* (1335:3:10), in *Komonjo*, no. 52, 1:38.

[115] *Bō gechijō* (1337:1:14), in *Komonjo*, no. 53, 1:38-39. Beginning with this document, records of local directives and contributions are dated with the era names used by the northern court.

[116] *Saemonjō Taira bō kishinjō* (1341:int.4:16), in *Komonjo*, no. 54, 1:39.

or popular rituals into Zen monasticism than did any conscious efforts at popularization. Throughout the forty-five year period covered by these documents, both before and after Keizan had introduced Zen, the basic religious goals of Sōjiji's patrons remained unchanged. When Jōken was first installed as abbot the patron had requested the performance of the types of esoteric rituals that Jōken was trained to perform. Once Gasan became abbot the patron's requests changed to scripture recitations, while directing the merit of that service toward the same goals. Later orders repeatedly reminded the Sōjiji monks that deviations from previous precedents would not be tolerated. It is significant that Keizan acknowledged that the supporters of Morookadera lacked proper faith in Zen at the time he converted the temple to a Zen monastery. This acknowledgement suggests that Keizan had assented to the regular rituals on behalf of the patron in order to realize Sōjiji's conversion.

These documents also reveal the interaction between social conditions and the demands of Sōjiji's patrons. In 1333 when the Kamakura shogunate fell and emperor Godaigo returned to Kyoto to begin the restoration of imperial rule, Sōjiji's patron demonstrated his support of Godaigo's southern court through additional donations to the temple. During this time of social upheaval, however, simple recitation of the scriptures seems to have had insufficient power, for the following year the patron requested the beginning of prayers to the esoteric divinity Shōden. Thereafter the patron's support of the southern court proved short lived. The directives dated from 1337 (i.e., the year following the founding of the Ashikaga shogunate) were dated with the era names used by the northern court. No new donations

were made in the name of prayers for the success of the Ashikaga. Significantly, no extant documents record any additional contributions after 1341 until 1354. In these subsequent documents there are no passages to suggest the continued involvement of the same *ryōke*. The identity of that original *ryōke* is not known, but most likely during the intervening years that family suffered military defeat and financial loss. After 1354 Gasan attracted other patrons willing to support Zen practice at Sōjiji.

The Ascension of Sōjiji

The fall of one shogunate, Emperor Godaigo's attempts to restore imperial rule, and the founding of another shogunate were signposts indicating extensive changes in the social conditions of fourteenth-century Japan. In rural areas the warrior groups that originally had derived their local authority from the Kamakura shogunate were being challenged by the growing economic power of proprietary cultivators (*myōshu*) who had familial roots within their own locality.[117] The family backgrounds of Yōkōji's main patrons illustrate this process of change. The land where Yōkōji was built originally had been held by Sakai Noritsune, Sonin's maternal grandfather.[118] Noritsune had been a locally powerful warrior, appointed military land steward (*jitō*) by the Kamakura shogunate. Shigeno Nobunao, in contrast,

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[117]The effects of these changes on Sōtō history are discussed by Kawakubo Junkō, "Taiso no shūkyō no rekishiteki seikaku: Toku ni sono shakaiteki haikei ni tsuite," in *Keizan kenkyū*, 46-80.

[118]Japanese secondary sources read Sonin's grandfather's name as "Akinaga," but in Sonin's own *kana* writings his name is rendered as "Noritsune" (misspelled in *Komonjo* as 'Noritsunu'). See *Taira no uji no onna bō kishinjō* (1318:10:25), in *Komonjo*, no. 162, 1:119-20. Regarding the Sakai family tree, see Kuriyama, *Gakuzan shiron*, 68.

came from a family with no official positions of authority. As Nobunao increased his own power, however, he not only acquired Sonin as his wife but also purchased her family's land. Then, to protect the newly acquired lands from any possible counter-claims, the land was officially donated to Yōkōji. In many other cases, perhaps in that of Sōjiji's *ryōke*, former regional authorities lost their land incomes through much more violent means. The fifty-year period following Godaigo's failed restoration usually is described as one of incessant civil turmoil during which previously established warrior households and newly emerging groups each sought to consolidate their own bases of support. It was during this period of changing power structures that open conflict broke out between Sōjiji and Yōkōji.

Yōkōji remained the premier monastery of Gikai's line during the lifetimes of Keizan's immediate disciples. Following Keizan's death in 1325, Meihō served as Yōkōji's second abbot, a position he held until Daijōji's abbotship became vacant again sometime before 1339. After Meihō returned to Daijōji, Yōkōji's abbotship passed in succession to Mugai, to Gasan and to Koan just as Keizan had directed.[119] During Mugai's term, 1339-1340, the Ashikaga shogunate provided a series of contributions for the building of a three-story pagoda at Yōkōji.[120] This pagoda was one of the *rishōtō* (Pagodas to Benefit Sentient Beings)

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[119] *Tōkoku goso gyōjitsu*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:595-99.

[120] See ibid., in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:597b; as well as Kōgon, *Kōgon jōkōin sen'an* (1339:12:13); Ashikaga Tadayoshi, *Ashikaga Tadayoshi gechijō* (1339:12:13); *Ashikaga Tadayoshi kishinjō* (1340:1:1), and Ashikaga Takauji, *Ashikaga Takauji kishinjō* (1340:3:6), in *Komonjo*, nos. 182-85, 1:134-36. Document no. 182 is addressed to Mugai by name.

that the shogunate established in each province of the country.[121] The selection of Yōkōji for the local *rishōtō* demonstrates the high status Yōkōji then enjoyed. The prestige of the new pagoda encouraged even more contributions and income. During the same period as the pagoda construction many new buildings were erected at Yōkōji, namely, a new monks' hall and bath in 1338, a corridor network in 1339, and a bell tower for a bronze bell in 1342.[122]

Yōkōji had continued to grow not only because of political patronage, but also because of the united support of Keizan's heirs. These disciples regarded Yōkōji as the head temple of Gikai's line. After having completing their own terms, Meihō, Mugai, Gasan and Koan cooperated in appointing their own disciples to Yōkōji's abbotship in an ordered succession. Gasan, for example, ordered his disciple Mutei Ryōshō (1313-1361) to return to Noto and represent the Gasan line as abbot of Yōkōji even though Mutei had founded his own monastery (Shōbōji) in northern Honshū.[123] In addition to Mutei, Gasan's other disciples also served as abbots at Yōkōji, including Taigen Sōshin (who was abbot in 1371) and Mutō Esū.[124] The installation of each new abbot would be accompanied by special donations and ceremonies financed by all the supporters affiliated to Yōkōji and to the new abbot. A list of Yōkōji's properties dated 1379 reveals the existence of four subtemples

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[121]Regarding the *rishōtō*, see Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 106-9; and Imaeda Aishin, "Ankokuji-rishōtō no setsuritsu," in *Chūsei Zenshūshi no kenkyū*, 77-108.

[122]Yokoyama, "Yōkōji sōritsu no igi," 17.

[123]Gasan Jōseki, *Jōseki jihitsu shojō* (ca.1355?), in *Komonjo*, no. 2120, 3:100-1.

[124]Taigen's dates as abbot are known from his, *Fusatsu ekōryō sokkagyō chūmon* (1371:9), in *Komonjo*, no. 195, 1:141.

within Yōkōji, one each for the lines of Meihō, Mugai, Gasan and Koan.[125] The establishment of these subtemples within Yōkōji means that Yōkōji was managed jointly by representatives of each line. Each new abbot would have been selected in predetermined order from among the heads of each subtemple. The joint management system insured Yōkōji's financial prosperity. Yet by the date of this document (1379) that system had failed. Yōkōji's next ten abbots all belonged to Meihō's line.[126] A schism had cut Yōkōji off from the support of the other lines (see figure 5).

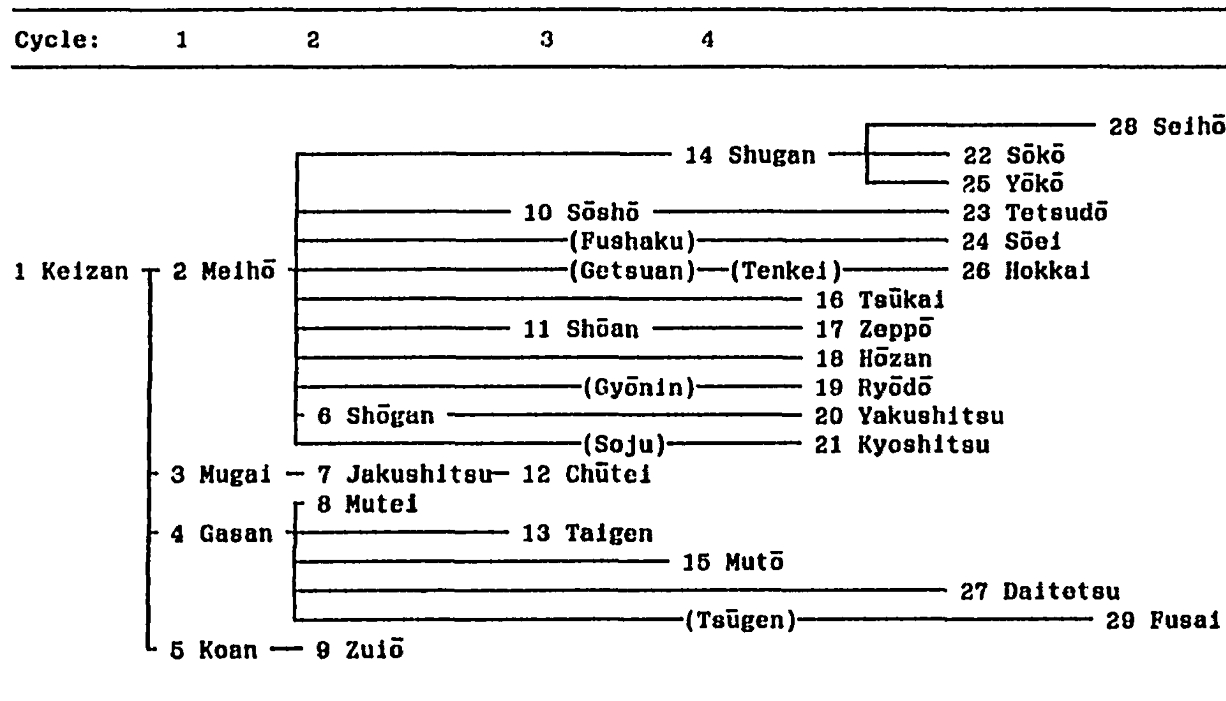
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[125]Tsūkai Ryūsen et al., *Yōkōjiryō mokuroku* (1379:8:15), in *Komonjo*, no. 198, 1:143-67.

[126]A list of the first 29 abbots at Yōkōji is found in Ōan Taihaku, *Keizan oshō shitsuchū okibumi* (1732); rpt. in Furuta Shōkin, "'Keizan oshō shitsuchū okibumi' ni tsuite," in *Keizan Zenji kenkyū*, 793-95.

FIGURE 5

DHARMA LINEAGES AND THE ABBOTSHIP OF YŌKŌJI



The exact causes and nature of this schism are not known. Not only is the documentary evidence fragmentary, but because an intense rivalry between Sōjiji and Yōkōji continued until the Tokugawa period both temples have fabricated contradictory accounts of many events. The documentary evidence must be evaluated in light of the lineages that have produced each document. Consider, for example, the supposed relationship between Keizan and Godaigo. Sōjiji possesses a list of ten questions that supposably Godaigo had submitted to Keizan at Sōjiji in 1322. Sōjiji tradition claims that Godaigo appointed Sōjiji the head temple of the Sōtō school later that same year in return for Keizan's satisfactory response. In opposition to Sōjiji, however, Yōkōji possesses its own version of Godaigo's ten questions that (in their version) had been to Keizan at Yōkōji in 1320--two years earlier than claimed by Sōjiji. Moreover Yōkōji tradition claims that Godaigo responded to Keizan's answers by appointing Yōkōji the head temple of the Sōtō school, which he did in 1321.[127]

Few other documents are as blatantly false as these, but even texts that are generally reliable might not convey all details with complete accuracy. The *Tōkokuki*, for example, is a reliable collection of Keizan's miscellaneous writings that were compiled into a single manuscript at Daijōji sometime between 1415 and 1432.[128] In addition to

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[127]See *Jusshu chokumon*, Sōjiji Ms., in *JDZ*, 381-86, and *Jusshu gitai*, Yōkōji Ms., in *JDZ*, 376-80; as well as Tajima Hakudō, "Shinshiryō 'Keizan teison mondō' no ko shahon ni tsuite," *SG*, 23 (1981): 7-9. Tajima believes that these documents have a historical basis, but most scholars have accepted Tsuji's arguments against their validity (see *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, 3, *Chūseihen 2*, 328).

[128]These dates refer only to the 1432 Daijōji Ms. Regarding the accuracy of this manuscript, see Ōtani Teppu, "'Tōkokuki': Sono genkei ni tsuite no ichi shiron," *SG*, 16 (1974): 105-16; and Matsuda, "'Tōkokuki' no kenkyū," 824-73.

Keizan's writings, the final sections of the *Tōkokuki* also contains writings by Meihō and by secular authorities that assert Yōkōji's superiority over Sōjiji. These latter sections naturally must be suspected of being biased. Supporters of Sōjiji, however, would argue that the writings attributed to Keizan also are unreliable since they might have been edited to Sōjiji's detriment when the manuscript was compiled.[129] These textual uncertainties render many historical details subject to conflicting interpretation. With this caveat in mind, we will summarize the broad outline of the schism between Yōkōji and Sōjiji so far as the evidence allows.

Sōjiji attained power sufficient to challenge Yōkōji first through the strong patronage that Gasan attracted and then through the policies implemented by his disciples. Gasan had cultivated the support of the Hasebe family in particular by means of direct proselytizing. This practice resembled Keizan's teaching Zen to Shigeno Nobunao and Sonin. Hasebe Yoritada, for example, explicitly referred to "my teacher, master Gasan" (*shishō* Gasan *oshō*) in his writ of contribution addressed to Sōjiji in 1354.[130] In 1361 and 1363 additional contributions were made by Hasebe Hidetsura and his brother Norinobu.[131] Continued support by the same family is indicated by records of

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[129]See, for example, Sahashi Hōryū, *Ningen Keizan*, 119-129. Note that Sahashi's criticisms are directed against the 1930 version in *SZ*.

[130]*Fujiwara Tadayori* [*sic*] *kishinjō* (1354:8:25), in *Komonjo*, no. 56, 1:40-41.

[131]*Hasebe Hidetsura sarijō* (1361:12:25), and *Norinobu yuzurijō* (1363:11:15), in *Komonjo*, nos. 59-60, 1:42-43.

contributions from Hasebe Masatsura in 1375 and 1378.[132] The advantages of steady support from this established patron cannot be underestimated. Also similar to Keizan's pattern of support at Yōkōji was the presence of many nuns who made donations to Sōjiji. Among these nuns were members of the same Hasebe family.[133] Again several nuns included the words "my teacher, master Gasan" in their writs contributing land.[134] One nun contributor, Soichi, is known to have inherited Gasan's dharma line.[135]

Gasan by himself, however, could not insure Sōjiji's future importance. Following his death (during the tenth month of 1366) Sōjiji had no system for insuring the smooth succession of abbots. His former disciples were free to serve as abbot at Yōkōji without returning to Sōjiji (Mutō Esū, for example) or to establish their own temples independent of both Sōjiji and Yōkōji (as did Gennō Shinshō, for example). At first these practices seemed to pose no threat to Sōjiji, since other past disciples of Gasan were willing to serve at Sōjiji briefly before founding their own temples. Moreover, in 1368 several of

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[132] *Hasebe Masatsura kishinjō* (1375:7:25); *Hasebe Masatsura baiken* (1375:7:25); *Hasebe Masatsura kishinjō* (1375:8:22); *Hasebe Masatsura soejō* (1375:8:28); *Hasebe Masatsura watashijō* (1378:9:24); in *Komonjo*, nos. 75-78, 80, 1:54-56, 57.

[133] Hasebe Ruriwaka, *Hasebe Ruriwaka kishinjō* (1367:2:9), and Hasebe Zenshin, *Zenshin kishinjō* (1367:3:14), in *Komonjo*, nos. 64-65, 1:46-47. The nun Zenshin also wrote one of the eulogies (*saimon*) for Gasan's funeral. See *Sōjiji nidai oshō shōsatsu*, in *Zenrin gashōshū*, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 21a.

[134] Shiyun, *Ama Shiyun kishinjō* (1365:3:8); Ryōko, *Ama Ryōko yuzurijō* (1365:5:15); Ken'iu, *Ama Ken'iu kishinjō* (1367:11:1); in *Komonjo*, nos. 62-63, 67, 1:44-45, 48-49.

[135] Soichi, *Ama Soichi kishinjō* (1371:10:26), in *Komonjo*, no. 73, 1:53; and Tajima, *Sōtōshū nisōshi*, 205. Soichi's donation to Sōjiji is dated just two days before the fifth anniversary of Gasan's funeral.

the temples founded by Gasan disciples demonstrated support for Sōjiji with a pledge to provide cash donations to Sōjiji for annual memorial rites in honor of Keizan--the official first abbot of Sōjiji.[136] Within only eight years after Gasan's death (i.e., by 1374) Sōjiji already had seen its ninth abbot, Jippō Ryōshū (d.1405).[137] During these first eight years Sōjiji had continued to thrive.

Following Jippō's inauguration, however, no one willing to serve as Sōjiji's tenth generation abbot could be found among Gasan's past disciples.[138] Because of this difficulty, Jippō was succeeded by Sōjiji's former fifth-generation abbot, Tsūgen Jakurei (1322-1391). There is some confusion regarding the dates of Tsūgen's terms as abbot, but we know that he followed Jippō before the autumn of 1378.[139] For the next twelve years Sōjiji's affairs were managed jointly by Jippō, Tsūgen, and two other former abbots, namely, the eighth, Daitetsu Sōrei (1333-1408), and until his death in 1387 the seventh, Mutan Sokan. The policies adopted by these four former abbots not only helped to secure Sōjiji's ascension over Yōkōji but also to promoted Sōjiji to the head

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[136] *Jōkinki Butsuji shussen keiyakujō* (1368:10:21), in *Komonjo*, no. 70, 1:50-51.

[137] Sōjiji's early abbots are listed in Kuriyama, *Gakuzan shiron*, 96-99; and dates for the first eleven are found in Nakajima Jindō, *Sōtō kyōdan no keisei to sono hatten: Sōjiji no goin taisei wo shiten ni shite* (Yokohama: Dai Honzan Sōjiji, 1986), 79 fig. 20.

[138] Nakajima Jindō, *Nanbokuchō jidai no ichi isō: Tsūgen oshō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1977), 149-76; and *Sōtō kyōdan no keisei*, 77-82.

[139] Tsūgen is listed as Sōjiji's current abbot in *Jōseki monto renhanjō* (1378:10:23), in *Komonjo*, no. 81, 1:57-58. This term, however, is not included in the brief chronology of Tsūgen's career ("Tsūgen oshō ryaku nenfu") compiled by Baihō Jikushin (1633-1707) even though the dates of his other terms are listed correctly as 1368, 1382, and 1388. See *Tsūgen Jakurei Zenji sōki* (pub. 1698), ed. Baihō Jikushin, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 35.

of Gasan-line temples. These are the four men most responsible for the transformation of Keizan into the second patriarch of the Sōtō school and Sōjiji's prominence. As revealed in their directives, the goal of these former abbots was to channel to Sōjiji the support that Gasan-line monks hitherto had been providing to Yōkōji. Nisshin Monrō (d.1671), Tsūgen's biographer, suggests that Tsūgen had initiated this drive to redirect support away from Yōkōji to Sōjiji.[140] Three of the directives issued jointly by these former abbots are particularly noteworthy. Significantly all three are dated on the anniversary of Keizan's and Gasan's deaths (during the tenth month).

The first, issued in 1378, ordered all members of Gasan's line to refrain from serving as abbot at Yōkōji unless monks from Sōjiji are granted senior standing (*tōdōi*). The directive further ordered that henceforth Sōjiji will be the head temple (*honji*) of Gasan's line and anyone who fails to support Sōjiji will forfeit all status within the Gasan faction.[141] The full implications of the senior standing demanded in this document are not clear.[142] The word "*tōdōi*" literally refers to abbots of "eastern hall rank." Abbots of the eastern rank are superior to abbots of the western rank (*saidōi*). For this reason retired abbots always receive eastern rank status within their own temples, but retired abbots visiting from other temples always receive western-rank status. If monks from Sōjiji were to have received eastern-hall rank even at

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[140]*Tsūgen oshō gyōjitsu* (1649), in *ZSZ*, 10, *Shiden*, 522a.

[141]Tsūgen Jakurei, Mutan Sokan, Daitetsu Sōrei, Jippō Ryōshū, et al., *Jōseki monto renbanjō* (1378:10:23), Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 81, 1:57-58. In this document Tsūgen is listed as current abbot while Mutan, Daitetsu and Jippō are listed as former abbots.

[142]Regarding this issue, compare *Jūjishoku nin katai monjo no koto*, in *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:247-48; alt. in *JDZ*, 460-63.

Yōkōji, it would imply that Yōkōji was a junior-branch of Sōjiji and not an independent monastery. Moreover, this eastern-rank status probably would have freed Sōjiji from any obligation to finance the activities of its representatives at Yōkōji. The next directive, issued in 1380, ordered all temples founded by Gasan's disciples to participate in Sōjiji's annual memorial services for Keizan and Gasan or risk being expelled from Gasan's faction.[143] Although this directive does not mention cash contributions, there is no doubt that these memorial services were an important source of Sōjiji's income.

In spite of the first two directives, Sōjiji still seems to have had difficulty in securing the cooperation of Gasan's remaining disciples. Even after the second directive, for example, Jippō had to assume Sōjiji's abbotship for the second time. Likewise, in 1382 Tsūgen again inherited Sōjiji's abbotship from Jippō.[144] Tsūgen is reported to have declared that of Gasan's twenty-five disciples all but eleven had later betrayed their teacher.[145] It is doubtful if Gasan knew twenty-five disciples and only eight are certain to have become abbots at Sōjiji, but this remark accurately conveys Tsūgen's frustration.[146] Gasan's disciple Gessen Ryōin (1319-1400), for example, had refused four

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[143]Tsūgen Jakurei, Mutan Sokan, Daitetsu Sōrei, Jippō Ryōshū, et al., *Sōjiji monto keiyakujō* (1380:10:20), Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 86, 1:61-62. In this document as well Tsūgen is listed as current abbot while Mutan, Daitetsu and Jippō are listed as former abbots.

[144]Tsūgen Jakurei, *Yōtaku Tsūgen Zenji goroku*, entry for 1382:8:23, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:65. In his inaugural remarks Tsūgen named Jippō as Sōjiji's previous abbot.

[145]*Rentōroku*, fasc. 2, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:260b.

[146]For a traditional list of Gasan's "twenty-five disciples" (reprinted from an entry dated 1366:8:3 in Sōjiji's register of abbots, the *Sōji Zenji jūsan no shidai*), see Tajima Hakudō, *Sōji niso: Gasan Jōseki Zenji* (Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 1965), 83-84.

requests to serve as abbot at Sōjiji--three from Tsūgen (in 1371, 1376, 1397) and one from Jippō (in 1391).[147] Finally in 1384, the last of the so-called eleven faithful disciples, Chikudō Ryōgen, was installed as Sōjiji's tenth-generation abbot. Following Chikudō, however, the same difficulties persisted. By 1386 Daitetsu had become abbot for a second time.[148] Following Daitetsu, in 1388 Tsūgen became Sōjiji's abbot for his fourth time.[149] Unable to enlist the support of any of Gasan's other disciples, Tsūgen, Jippō and Daitetsu finally were forced to turn to the heirs of Gasan's heirs. In the autumn of 1390 they elected Baisan Monpon (d.1417) as the eleventh-generation abbot of Sōjiji. Two days before Baisan's inauguration (the day before Tsūgen retired) Tsūgen, Jippō, and Daitetsu issued their third directive.[150]

This 1390 directive established for the first time a fixed procedure for electing new abbots to Sōjiji. In so doing, it essentially established Sōjiji as the head temple of the five Gasan-line factions represented by Tsūgen, Jippō, Daitetsu, Baisan and the late

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[147]Kindō Ryōkiku (1408—1477), *Gessen Ryōin Zenji gyōjōki*, in *ZSZ*, 10, *Shiden*, 536a.

[148]Daitetsu Sōrei, *Sōjiji jōjū monjo shin mokuroku* (1386:9:29); and *Sōjiji hattō zōritsu chūmon* (1386:9:29:), Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, nos. 98-99, 1:68-74.

[149]Tsūgen, *Yōtaku Tsūgen Zenji goroku*, entry for 1388:11:27, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:80a.

[150]Tsūgen Jakurei, Daitetsu Sōrei, and Jippō Ryōshū, *Sōjiji jinmiraisai jōjō okibumi no koto* (1390:10:20), formerly Sōjiji D, rpt. in Kuriyama, *Gakuzan shiron*, 95-96. According to Nakajima (*Sōtō kyōdan no keisei*, 82), this document existed as late as the early 1930s. For the date of Tsūgen's retirement, see his *Yōtakuji Tsūgen Zenji goroku*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:88b.

Mutan Sokan.[151] Instead of referring to Baisan's line, however, the directive used the name of Baisan's late teacher Taigen Sōshin (d. ca.1371) who had served as Sōjiji's third-generation abbot immediately following Gasan's death in 1366.[152] Five monasteries (the main temples for each of these five factions) were directed to appoint future abbots. Each faction would nominate its own members to Sōjiji abbotship, but the candidate had to receive approval from all five monasteries. Even a monk who had never been abbot of a temple would be eligible so long as he was a member of one of the five factions.

This system produced a steady supply of new abbots, beginning in 1393 with Tsūgen's disciple Fusai Zenkyū (1347-1408).[153] The date of the next abbot's inauguration is not known but judging from the fact that his successor, Chikusan Tokusen (1344-1413), began his term in 1397 we know that the new abbots appeared in regular succession.[154] The five factions continued to be represented at Sōjiji by the five head temples

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[151]When the lines of authority within the Sōtō school were consolidated at the beginning of the Tokugawa period other lieages descendant from Gasan were formally affiliated with Sōjiji. These included Mutei Ryōshō's line (which restored the subtemple originally managed by Mutan's line) and Gennō Shinshō's line (which restored the subtemple formerly managed by Daitetsu's line).

[152]Tokugawa-period biographies of Taigen list 1370 as the year of his death (*Rentōroku*, fasc. 2, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:258b). Temple documents, however, reveal that he was active as Yōkōji's abbot as late as 1371 (see *Fusatsu ekōryō sokkagyō chūmon* [1371:9], in *Komonjo*, 1:141). His term as Sōjiji's abbot in 1366 also is documented by early records (see *Jōseki yuimotsu bunpaijō* [1366:10:28], and *Sōjiji jōjū monjo mokuroku* [1366:12:5], Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, nos. 1972-73, 3:5-8).

[153]*Fusai Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, entry for 1393:10:2, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:123a.

[154]*Chikusan Tokusen goroku*, entry for 1397:10:3, in *ZSZ*, 3, *Goroku*, 1:2b.

of each lineage named in the third directive until at least 1402.[155] Shortly thereafter, by 1411, subtemples for each faction had been constructed within Sōjiji just as had been done before at Yōkōji.[156] These five subtemples jointly managed Sōjiji until modern times, insuring that Sōjiji commanded the support of the majority of Sōtō temples affiliated with Gasan's line. At this time, former abbots from Sōjiji once again began serving terms at Yōkōji. Daitetsu became Yōkōji's twenty-seventh generation abbot sometime after 1402 (when he was at Sōjiji).[157] In 1406 Tsūgen's disciple Fusai became Yōkōji's twenty-ninth generation abbot.[158] Four years later in 1410 Chikusan also became abbot at Yōkōji.[159]

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[155]Daitetsu Sōrei et al., *Jōkin nenki Butsuji sajō* (1402:8:15), Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 108, 1:82-83.

[156]Baisan Monpon and Chikusō Chikan, *Fuzōin kishiki* (1411:6:11), Ryūtakuji (Fukui Pref.) DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 1884, 2:740. This is the earliest published document mentioning any of the five subtemples within Sōjiji. According to Nakajima Jindō (*Sōtō kyōdan no keisei*, 30), Sōjiji possesses an earlier unpublished document (*Enjudō bunden no koto* [1408]) that also mentions the subtemples. References to the five subtemples or rules for the succession of abbots at Sōjiji also occur in several spurious documents with very early dates--designed to attribute the origin of the subtemples to Keizan and Gasan. Included in this latter group are Keizan Jōkin, *Tōji kaisan jikkajō no kikyō* (1324:3:16), in *JDZ*, 494-95; alt. *SZ*, 2, *Shūgen*, 2:548-49; Gasan Jōseki, *Jōseki okibumi* (1362:2:9 and 1364:2:13), Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, nos. 1970-71, 3:4; and Taigen Sōshin et al., *Gasan monpa no shū Sōjiji jūban no koto* (1370:8:13), rpt. in Kuriyama, *Sōjijishi*, 326. In the *Komonjo* document no. 1971 attributed to Gasan the words "five years" traditionally have been read as "five temples" (handwritten the characters appear similar).

[157]See Daitetsu Sōrei et al., *Jōkin nenki Butsuji sajō* (1402:8:15), Sōjiji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 108, 1:82-83.

[158]*Fusai Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, entry for 1406:4:2, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:123a, 134b.

[159]*Chikusan Tokusen goroku*, fasc. 1, entry for 1410:3:23, in *ZSZ*, 3, *Goroku*, 1:4a.

The return of Sōjiji monks to Yōkōji did not represent any reconciliation between the two monasteries. On the contrary, a document included in the *Tōkokuki* indicates that the schism actually had grown worse.[160] This document contains the assertions of Meihō's faction. It purports to be the text of an appeal submitted by members of Meihō's line to the military land steward of Noto in 1415. The main thrust of the arguments in the appeal reveals that Meihō's descendants had exclusive control of Daijōji, which they claimed to be the head temple of Gikai's line--including Sōjiji and all the other temples founded by Keizan.[161] In support of Daijōji's claim to special head-temple status the appeal asserted that a monastery founded by Gikai should be ranked higher since Gikai was Keizan's senior teacher and claimed that Sōjiji amounted to no more than a private temple since Keizan had bequeathed it to Gasan. The appeal further claimed that Keizan himself had ordered Meihō to administer the entire Sōtō school from Daijōji. Today Daijōji possesses just such an edit naming Meihō registrar (*sōroku*) of Sōtō monks, supposedly signed by Keizan--which demonstrates that the fabrication of documents was not confined to Sōjiji and Yōkōji.[162]

Next, the appeal summarized the background of the schism between Yōkōji and Sōjiji. According to this account, the difficulties began during Taigen Sōshin's term as abbot at Yōkōji when he had

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[160]See *Jūjishoku nin katai monjo no koto*, in *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:247-48; alt. in *JDZ*, 460-63.

[161]The exclusive control of Daijōji by Meihō's descendants is confirmed by the *Daijō renpōshi*, which shows that Kyōō Unryō was the only non-Meihō line abbot at Daijōji until the end of the sixteenth century (see *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:577-79).

[162]Keizan Jōkin, *Jōkin okibumi* (1325:8:1), Daijōji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 1406, 2:409.

attempted to assert that former abbots from Sōjiji should have the same senior rank as former abbots from Daijōji. Mugai's faction also supported the claim for equal status. Gasan's faction from Sōjiji and Mugai's faction from Jōjūji had argued that Daijōji and their two temples should have equal status because Keizan had allotted each to one of his disciples. The next Yōkōji abbot from Sōjiji, Mutō Esū, also had attempted to assert this claim for equal status but failed. The appeal states that when further efforts also proved fruitless, the Sōjiji and Jōjūji monks destroyed the subtemples managed by their factions at Yōkōji and ceased all relations with Yōkōji and Meihō's line for a period of twenty years. Thus far the *Tōkokuki* document is in general agreement with the evidence available from sources related to Sōjiji. The subsequent events upon which the appeal was based, however, are described only in this source.

The appeal argues that the return of Sōjiji monks to Yōkōji had been facilitated through extortion by Sōjiji's powerful patrons. In particular, the appeal states that the Jinbō family had forced Yōkōji to admit Sōjiji monks to superior status, by seizing the land holding of the patrons who supported Meihō-line temples. No sufficient evidence exists to prove or disprove this claim.[163] This version of events does fit with some of the known facts concerning the military conquests of the Jinbō family in the Noto area. Moreover, the Gasan-line monk Zuigan Shōrin (mentioned by name in the appeal) who had moved from Sōjiji to

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[163]Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 406-10.

Yōkōji in 1406 was of Jinbō family descent.[164] As seen in the careers of Dōgen's disciples described in the previous chapter, this appeal demonstrates that relationships between temples cannot be analyzed in full until more detailed knowledge concerning the relations between their respective patrons becomes available.

The above record, while incomplete, is sufficient for grasping the broad outline of Sōjiji's ascension following Keizan's death. The goal that Keizan had worked for--namely, the cooperative management of Yōkōji by the descendants of each of his disciples--had not survived beyond the lifetimes of his first generation of disciples. Instead of supporting Yōkōji, Meihō's faction had attempted to consolidate its power at Daijōji while Gasan's faction had attempted to consolidate its power at Sōjiji. By the time of the Meihō faction made their appeal in 1415, Sōjiji had emerged as the most powerful. Because of Sōjiji's eventual success, the documentary evidence for the policies implemented by Sōjiji's abbots has been preserved. The policies of Sōjiji's abbots alone cannot provide an adequate explanation for Sōjiji's growing power and importance. The conflicts between Gasan's faction and the other medieval Sōtō factions become meaningful only when seen within the context of the sectarian networks of branch temples from which these factions derived their true strength. The next chapter, therefore, will examine the Sōtō school's patterns of regional growth. The early phases of this growth will reveal how patrons and monasteries interacted to

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[164]See (a) Zuigan Shōrin, *Zuigan Zenji goroku*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:175a, entry for 1406:7; and (b) Reinan Shūjo, *Rentōroku* (1727), fasc. 3, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:282b. The date in Zuigan's recorded sayings for his entry into Yōkōji might be mistaken, since Fusai Zenkyū's recorded sayings also state that Fusai had entered Yōkōji during the fourth month of that same year.

popularize Sōtō school practices. Later developments also will be discussed in order to clarify the roles of Eiheiji and Sōjiji and other major temples in the regulation of Sōtō teachings and monks.

CHAPTER 5

THE FORMATION OF THE SŌTŌ ORDER

The regional expansion of the Sōtō school dates from Dōgen's move to Echizen. From the very beginning Dōgen's disciples had attempted to follow his example by founding new temples in remote areas. They succeeded in establishing major Sōtō monasteries not only in north-central Japan (Echizen and Kaga) but also in the southern island of Kyūshū (Higo). Keizan subsequently expanded the range of temples in his control from Kaga Province to Noto. Keizan's four main disciples (i.e., Meihō, Mugai, Gasan, and Koan), however, devoted their energies to consolidating the economic foundations of his temples rather than attempting to found new ones. Of these four lines, the impetus for continued regional growth came mainly from among Gasan's disciples. Histories compiled during the Tokugawa period credit the founding of more than twenty monasteries to just thirteen of Gasan's disciples. Geographically these monasteries range over seventeen provinces, from Mutsu on the northern tip of Honshū to Hyūga on the southern tip of Kyūshū. In other words, monks from just one monastery (Sōjiji) had laid the foundations for the development of Sōtō communities literally from one end of Japan to the other--within the span of just one dharma-generation (see figure 6).

FIGURE 6

MONASTERIES ATTRIBUTED TO GASAN'S DISCIPLES

	Disciple	Home Province	Monastery Name	Monastery Location
1.	Mugai Enshō (1311-1381)	Satsuma	Kōtokuji	Hyūga
2.	Tsūgen Jakurei (1322-1391)	Bungo	Yōtakuji Ryūsenji	Tanba Echizen
3.	Musai Junshō (d.1381)	Noto	Jitokuji	Etchū
4.	Gennō Shinshō (1329-1400)	Echigo	Taikyūji Senkeiji Jigenji	Hōki Shimotsuke Iwashiro
5.	Taigen Sōshin (d.1371)	Kaga	Butsudaji	Kaga
6.	Daitetsu Sōrei (1333-1408)	Hizen	Myōōji Rissenji Gokokuji	Mino Etchū Settsu
7.	Mutan Sogan (d.1387)	Noto	Shōenji	Echizen
8.	Jikugen Chōsai		Baikōin	Noto
9.	Dōsō Dōai (d.1379)	Ugo	Eitokuji Kōtakuji	Rikuchū Mutsu
10.	Gessen Ryōin (1319-1400)	Mutsu	Hodaji Ryūonji Daitsūji	Ugo Hitachi Shimōsa
11.	Chikudō Ryōgen	Yamashiro	Kenfukuji	Shima
12.	Jippō Ryōshū (d.1405)		Yōjuji Reishōji	Noto Shinano
13.	Mutei Ryōshō (1313-1361)	Noto	Shōbōji	Mutsu

Tokugawa-period historians most certainly exaggerated the number of temples attributed to this group of thirteen disciples. Their exaggerations, however, can be seen as a supplement to the gaps in the historical record of Gasan's other disciples whose biographies were lost and whose temples were destroyed. Possibly the actual number of Sōtō temples founded by Gasan's disciples exceeds the exaggerated claims of later generations.[1] As indicated by the wide geographic distribution of the new Sōtō monasteries, Gasan's disciples were remarkably well-traveled. Of the thirteen disciples mentioned above only three were from Noto (the location of Sōjiji) and only two more were from neighboring provinces. More importantly, only one is known to have returned to his native province. Most of Gasan's other disciples seem to have journeyed across wide areas of Japan. Tsūgen Jakurei, for example, was a native of Bungo, yet his main monastery was founded in Tanba. Gennō Shinshō arrived at Sōjiji from Echigo, but later founded monasteries in Hōki, Shimotsuke and Iwashiro. Likewise, although Daitetsu Sōrei came from Kyūshū, he established monasteries in Mino, Etchū and Settsu--all provinces of central Japan.

In contrast to the wide travels of Gasan's disciples, the monks who studied under Keizan's other heirs (i.e., Meihō, Mugai, and Koan) seem to have been active mainly within the north-central region, near Daijōji, Yōkōji and Sōjiji. Because of their proximity to these major

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[1]For several attempts to gauge the early Sōtō school's rate of growth, see: Hirose Ryōkō, "Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō," in *Chihō bunka no dentō to sōzō*, ed. Chihōshi Kenkyū kyōgikai (Tokyo: Yūsankaku, 1976), 134-35; Hirose Ryōkō, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru Zensō-Zenji to chiiki shakai: Tōkai-Kantō chihō no Sōtōshū wo chūshin to shite" rpt. in *Dōgen to Sōtōshū*, ed. Kawamura Kōdō and Ishikawa Rikizan, 217-18; Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū no chihō tenkai to Gennō Shinshō," *IBK*, 31:1 (Dec. 1982), 227-28; and Wata Kenju, "Minzokugakuteki tachiba kara mita Sōtōshū no hatten ni tsuite," *SG*, 2 (1960): 126.

monasteries and to each other, the temples founded by these monks never obtained powerful patronage or secure sources of income. Ultimately, most of these monasteries were unable to survive the turmoil of *Ikkō ikki* and other warfare of the medieval period. For example, six Yōkōji-affiliated monasteries located in the Suzu area of Noto disappeared between 1479 and 1574. All six of these lost monasteries had been founded by monks in the Koan and Meihō lines.[2] Among Meihō's dharma heirs, only Daichi succeeded in founding a major monastery in another region of Japan, namely, Kōfukuji in Higo. Yet Daichi not only lost the support of his principal patron (the ill-fated Kikuchi family) but also failed to establish any policies to insure the survival of his line.[3] The ascension of Sōjiji (described above), therefore had been rooted in the support it commanded from a wide geographic base, a base made possible by the greater propensity for travel found among Gasan's disciples. The reasons for this geographical disparity between the lineages founded by Keizan's disciples remain unclear. Simple chronology might have been one contributing cause. Gasan was both younger and longer-lived than Keizan's other disciples. By the time his students were leaving Sōjiji to establish themselves, monks in the other Sōtō lineages already had founded monasteries in the neighboring areas.

The monasteries founded by Gasan's disciples, in turn, became centers for further regional expansion. As new branch temples were founded by disciples of Gasan's disciples, the older Sōtō monasteries

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[2]Ifune Banzen, "Kyōdo Zenshūshi: Noto Suzu jiin no seiritsu wo chūshin ni," *SG*, 15 (1973): 50-55.

[3]Hirose Ryōkō, "Daichi Zenji to sono monka no jiin sōshō ni tsuite," *SG*, 14 (1972): 143-48; and "Sōtōshū chihō tenkai ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Daichi to Higo kuni Kikuchishi no baai," *Komazawa shigaku*, 21 (1974): 38-59.

became heads of regional factions. These factions rarely overlapped geographically because of the great distances that separated each of these monasteries founded by Gasan's direct disciples. Therefore, the Sōtō school expanded simultaneously into many regions across Japan. Initially, the majority of new Sōtō monasteries and temples seem to have been founded primarily in mountainous regions or in poorer agricultural areas--the types of locations where other strong Buddhist organizations were lacking. Support for the construction of the new Sōtō temples came mainly from middle-level, landed warrior groups or from locally powerful cultivators.[4] As a group these patrons rarely were important enough to appear in historical records, but just wealthy and numerous enough to sponsor scores of new temples.[5] The pace of new temple construction must have been staggering. Reliable dates for the founding of many Sōtō temples are impossible to obtain, yet repeated surveys suggest that the majority had been founded (or were converted to the Sōtō school) during the two-hundred year period between 1450 and 1650.[6] Even if one were to assume that only half of the 17,549 Sōtō temples reported in a Tokugawa-period census (ca.1745-1747) were founded during this period, simple

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[4]The standard profile of Sōtō expansion and its sponsors is summarized in Hirose Ryōkō, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru Zensō-Zenji," 214-20; and Wata, "Minzokugakuteki tachiba kara mita Sōtōshū," 126-29.

[5]Fujioka Daisetsu, "Zenshū no chihō denpa to sono juyōsō ni tsuite: Muromachi zenki wo chūshin ni," in *Nihon shūkyōshi kenkyū*, 1, *Soshiki to dendō*, ed. Nihon Shūkyōshi Kenkyūkai (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1967), 117-18.

[6]See Sakurai Shūyū, "Keizan Zenji monryū no kyōdan keisei: Kyōgakuteki shiten kara Oku no Shōbōji wo chūshin to shite" (1974), rpt. in *Dōgen Zenji to Sōtōshū*, 200-2; Yamamoto Seiki, "Chūsei ni okeru Sōtōshū no chihō hatten," in *Kasahara Kazuo hakase kanreki kinen Nihon shūkyōshi ronshū*, 1 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1976), 450-51; Hanuki Masai, "Zenshū no hatten to jippō danna," in *Chihō bunka no dentō to sōzō*, 113; Hirose, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru Zensō-Zenji," 218; and Wata, "Minzokugakuteki tachiba kara mita Sōtōshū," 126.

arithmetic would suggest that on the average more than forty-three new temples and monasteries were founded each year.[7] Regardless of the precise figures, this obviously high rate of growth raises several basic questions. Who supported the new Sōtō temples and monasteries and why? Why did some lineages thrive while others died out? What policies were devised by Sōtō monks to manage these vast numbers of new temples?

Patterns of Regional Growth

The complex combination of events leading to the founding of each new Sōtō temple resist reduction to simple formulae. Yet in general medieval Sōtō temples can be divided into two broad categories depending on whether the primary motivation for the temple's construction originated within the patron's own circumstances or developed as a result of direct proselytizing by a local Sōtō teacher. Traditional accounts of Japanese Zen history have emphasized the indispensable role of the warrior patrons who donated the lands and yearly income for new temples. In this view, the popularization of Japanese Sōtō depended upon patrons who imposed the new temples upon the local population, "from the top down," as part of policies intended to further secular political goals.[8] In examining these political policies, however, one must not lose sight of efforts of itinerant Zen teachers to proselytize and popularize Sōtō religious practices--efforts which would have enhanced the political appeal of temple patronage.

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[7]*Enkyōdo Sōtōshū jiin honmatsuchō* (1745-1747); rev. edn. (1760), 24 fasc.; rpt. Kagamishima Sōjun, ed., *Enkyōdo Sōtōshū jiin honmatsuchō* (1944; rpt. Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1980), 5, 10.

[8]See, for example, Suzuki Taizan, "Sōtō Zen no kōfu to sono gegosha," in *Kokumin seikatsushi kenkyū*, 4, *Seikatsu to shūkyō*, ed. Itō Tasaburō (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1960), 270-71.

Although most well-known monasteries enjoyed strong secular patronage, when surveyed as a whole the majority of Sōtō temples have no records of secular founding patrons.[9] This information would not have been easily lost, since at the very least every temple would be expected to perform annual memorial services for its founding patron. In many cases even temples that did have a founding patron, actual patronage began only after proselytizing by a Sōtō teacher had attracted widespread support among the local populace.[10]

A well-known example of this process would be the Sōtō monastery Ryūenji in Kumagaya (Saitama Pref.). This monastery was founded in 1411 through the patronage of a local warrior known as Narita Ietoki. The founding abbot of Ryūenji, Waan Seijun, originally had taken up residence in a nearby Amida chapel. According to Ryūenji tradition, Seijun spent all his time at the Amida chapel either in Zen meditation or in chanting. The local people soon began to regard him as a Zen saint (*rakan*). They came in great numbers to request Seijun to copy scriptures or to perform Buddhist rituals in their behalf. It was only after Narita Ietoki had sent his men to investigate the cause of Seijun's growing popularity that he (Narita) decided to sponsor a new monastery (the future Ryūenji) for Seijun.[11] In this case, the establishment of a new Sōtō monastery was effected "from the bottom up,"

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[9]This conclusion is based on Hirose Ryōkō's survey of Sōtō temples in Mikawa (in "Chūsei kōki ni okeru Zensō-Zenji," 226-27).

[10]Tamamuro Taijō, *Sōshiki Bukkyō* (Tokyo: Daihōrinkaku, 1963), 211-21.

[11]*Waan Seijun Zenji gyōjō*, included as part of *Ryūen Seijun Kiun Itsū goroku narabi ni gyōjō*, comp. Daisō Shūsa (d.1537), in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:215. In spite of the many hagiographical elements found in this biography (most of which have been omitted the above summation), the core sequence of events remains believable.

as the secular patron attempted to respond to (and to take advantage of) the fame acquired by a resident Sōtō teacher among the local villagers.

A similar process must have occurred among many of the monasteries founded by Gasan's disciples and by their heirs. Unless these monks already had been journeying through the remote provinces of Japan they would not have attracted the patronage necessary to found their distant monasteries. Strong support for this assumption comes from one impartial observer, Kisen Shūshō (d.1493)--an officer within the *Gozan* registrar of monks (*sōroku*). Kisen described Gasan's lineage as being composed of self-styled "men of the Way" (*dōnin*) who travel about the country residing in rural chapels and shrines.[12] Kisen framed his remark as a criticism, yet it accurately characterizes the efforts of Sōtō monks to gain control of rural religious facilities. Mujaku Myōyū (1333-1393) would be a prime example of the type of Sōtō monk referred to by Kisen. Mujaku's travels covered more than ten provinces, during which he administered the bodhisattva precepts to celebrants from the Grand Shrine of Ise, resided on sacred Mt. Miwa, and converted at least seven rural chapels into Sōtō temples.[13]

To understand how Sōtō monks would convert rural chapels into new monasteries, it is necessary to examine the role of these religious

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[12]*Onryōken nichiroku*, entry for 1488:6:4, in *NBZ*, 135:217-18.

[13]Kōsan Myōsan, *Chokushi Shinkū Zenji gyōdōki* (1442), in *SZ*, 17, *Shiden*, 2:273-75; and Myōden (d.1871), *Kōka keifuden* (1845), fasc. 3, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:537-40.

facilities within rural villages.[14] The origins of most medieval Sōtō monasteries are found in the religious halls of rural villages--just as Morookadera, a shrine chapel, had been converted into Sōjiji. Small Buddhist chapels were an universal feature of rural village communities by the early medieval period. Originally these worship halls would have lacked any full-time, resident monks or sectarian affiliation. Later historical sources often identify Sōtō monasteries as having been built at the site of a former "Tendai" or "Shingon" chapel, but these sectarian labels usually are based merely on the chapel's original name or the type of image originally enshrined there. In actual practice rural chapels served as a center for whatever rituals might be performed by any itinerant religious teacher who happened to be available.[15] An association of village elders collectively supervised maintenance and seasonal rites. The social functions of these chapels, therefore, extended beyond occasional religious services. As village communities attempted to assert greater social and political independence during the fourteenth century local shrines and Buddhist chapels provided potent symbols of communal solidarity. For example, a religious service might conclude with the villager leaders drinking consecrated water together as an oath of unity.[16]

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[14]The information on village chapels in this paragraph is based upon Asaka Toshiki, "Sondō to Rinka: Kaga Chōfukuji no seiritsu wo megutte," *Bukkyō shigaku*, 14:4 (Nov. 1969), 17-35. The term "village" is not limited to any particular Japanese historical term, but refers to the communal groups defined by Nagahara Keiji with Kozo Yamamura, "Village Communities and Daimyo Power," in *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, ed. John W. Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (Berkeley: U. of Calif. Press, 1977), 107. Other terms used in this paragraph also conform to Nagahara's article (pp. 107-27).

[15]Hanuki, "Zenshū no hatten to jippō danna," 121.

[16]Nagahara, "Village Communities," 119.

The conversion of a communal village chapel into a formal Buddhist temple based on private patronage increased the authority that a private patron could exercise over the village. The regional expansion of the Sōtō school began during a period when the growth of exploitable wealth in medieval village communities led to increased competition for control over local means of production. Regional warriors, proprietorial lords, or village leaders all would have seen sponsoring a new monastery as one means of enhancing their religious prestige and local power.[17] For this reason, the incorporation of rural village chapels into the formal Buddhist denominations reflects the outcome of localized power struggles. Each local competing faction would have attempted to draw the chapel into its own power base. According to the "conversion from above" theory described above, new Sōtō temples were sponsored by locally powerful leaders who exploited the religious authority conferred by the new temple. But without this type of powerful patron, a new temple could be founded in a well-unified village only by a Buddhist teacher who already had earned the confidence of the village elders. In this latter case, the new temple could function as a rallying point for resistance to outside exploitation. If a Buddhist teacher would win both the support of the village as a whole and the support of the local military lord, the new temple could function as a significant avenue of communication and mutual accommodation between lord and peasantry.

The rapid growth of new Sōtō monasteries in rural areas resulted from the ability of Sōtō monks to attract the support of the ascending local power groups. In Kamakura and in Kyoto leading warriors

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[17]Kawakubo, "Taiso no shūkyō no rekishiteki seikaku," 50-52.

had sponsored Zen teachers for their knowledge of Chinese culture, their Confucian learning, and their strict monastic discipline. In rural areas these qualities were insufficient (although still very important). Unlike Kyoto or Kamakura, rural areas lacked any established leaders cosmopolitan (or powerful) enough to invite unknown Zen masters from afar. If the Sōtō monks had not already journeyed into the isolated areas for personal proselytizing they could not have converted such large numbers of rural chapels. Both willingness to travel into unknown areas and strong personal charisma were essential for success. The biographies of prominent Sōtō monks abound with tales of supernatural events that supposably had occurred during their travels. While these stories cannot be accepted as literal truth, they indicate the importance that disciples and temple patrons attached to mystical abilities and religious miracles.[18] In their strong mystical charisma, many early Sōtō teachers resemble the ancient mountain ascetics (*zenji*) as well as their contemporary counterparts, the rural *yamabushi* and *hijiri* who wandered across the countryside acquiring power through communion with sacred mountains.

The biography of Mujaku Myōyū's disciple Tenshin Yūteki (1341-1413) reveals a particularly strong connection between mountain asceticism and village chapel conversions. Tenshin had been living in seclusion in Kinsei Village (Chikuzen Province) when the local residents first asked him to found a new temple. Not knowing whether or not to

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[18]For a literary treatment of a supernatural tale concerning the Sōtō monk Kaian Myōkei (1422-1493), see the "Aozukin" chapter of Ueda Akinari's *Ugetsu monogatari* (pub. 1776), trans. Leon M. Zolbrod, *Ugetsu Monogatari: Tales of Moonlight and Rain, A Complete English Version of the Eighteenth-Century Japanese Collection of Tales of the Supernatural by Ueda Akinari, 1734-1809* (Vancouver: U. of British Columbia Press; Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1974), 185-94.

accept their request, Tenshin journeyed to the nearby sacred mountain, Mt. Hiko, to pray for a sign. Later when Tenshin returned to Kinsei Village a rock fell out of the sleeve of his robe. The biography asserts that just as the rock hit the ground a three-foot tall man suddenly appeared--the spirit from the mountain. This apparition of the mountain spirit was the sign of approval Tenshin sought. He thereupon proceeded to found Zuisekiji (Omen Rock Monastery).[19] Similar accounts of mountain spirits endorsing the founding of new Sōtō monasteries commonly occur in temple records. These claims are found not only in later records but also in the writings of temple founders. Gasan's disciple Mutei Ryōshō, for example, wrote that a series of dreams and a visitation by a sacred deer at Mt. Kuroishi in 1348 had convinced him that the mountain spirit wanted him to found a new monastery.[20]

Gasan's Sōjiji must have attracted many monks from among the ranks of traditional ascetic rural travelers. Only seasoned travelers would have journeyed to its remote location on the Noto peninsula. Even monks without any experience in mountain pilgrimages would have had many opportunities to observe the practices of other mountain ascetics because the road leading from Yōkōji to Sōjiji passes along the base of Sekidōzan (a.k.a. Isurugiyama), a major sacred mountain.[21] Likewise, many of the monasteries founded by Gasan's disciples also are located along mountain pilgrimage routes or even within the environs of well-

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[19]*Rentōroku*, fasc. 4, in *SZ*, vol. 16, *Shiden*, 1:299.

[20]Mutei Ryōshō, *Ryōshō yumeki* (n.d., and 1349:1:1), Shōbōji (Iwate Pref.) DS, in *Komonjo*, nos. 934-35, 2:60-62. Several similar stories are discussed in detail in chapter 6.

[21]Satō Shunkō, "Sekidōzan shinkō," 73-102.

known sacred mountains.[22] The subsequent generations of Sōtō monks journeying between these mountain monasteries naturally would have acquired many of the traits of traditional mountain ascetics.

The similarities between early medieval Sōtō and traditional mountain asceticism also has been explained at resulting from the influence of Hakusan Tendai. According to Imaeda Aishin, "Hakusan Tendai" refers to all the ancient chapels on sacred mountains throughout northern Japan that traditionally have been used by wandering ascetics. These temples form a separate branch of Tendai headquartered at Heisenji on sacred Hakusan (the White Mountain) near which Eiheiji is located. Imaeda identifies Heisenji as a medieval rival of Mt. Hiei and Onjōji (the two main Tendai establishments). Keizan's ready acceptance of Hakusan worship would have facilitated the conversion of the mountain ascetics at Hakusan-Tendai temples. In Imaeda's view the link between Keizan and Hakusan worship explains why Sōjiji expanded rapidly while Eiheiji failed to develop its own regional branch temples.[23] Imaeda has raised a very important issue. Japanese Sōtō monks traditionally have carried talismans that invoke the protection of Hakusan and many Sōtō monasteries enshrine Hakusan as a guardian spirit.[24] Likewise, Keizan's writings do contain repeated references to the spirit of Hakusan. One

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[22]See, for example, a map showing the location of the many sacred mountains near Tsūgen Jakurei's Yōtakuji, in Nakajima, *Sōtō kyōdan no keisei*, 92 fig. 98.

[23]"Keizan Zenji no rekishiteki chii: Hakusan Tendai to no kanren to shite," in *Keizan Zenji kenkyū*, 82-99.

[24]Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron," pt. 6, *KBRS*, 16 (1985): 128-29.

Sōtō temple (Senkōji, Fukuoka Pref.) even possesses a Hakusan talisman said to be in Keizan's own handwriting.[25]

The evidence, however, is not as simple as Imaeda suggests. Even the existence of a medieval "Hakusan Tendai" has not been established. Rather than forming a separate sect, medieval Heisenji actually had strong ties to both Mt. Hiei and Onjōji. Sekidōzan, the sacred mountain near Yōkōji and Sōjiji which Imaeda identifies as a branch of Hakusan, had strong affiliations with the Shingon school on Mt. Kōya. The mountain spirit of Hakusan always has been regarded as a manifestation of the eleven-headed form of Kannon bodhisattva. Yet the spirit of Sekidōzan (known as Gosha) represents Kokūzō bodhisattva. Many medieval Sōtō monasteries did originate as Kannon chapels (as also did Dōgen's Kōshōji in Kyoto), but not necessarily as branches of Heisenji. Tsūgen's Yōtakuji, for example, enshrines a "Guze" Kannon and Mutei's Shōbōji enshrines a "Nyoirin" Kannon--not the eleven-headed form associated with Hakusan. Moreover, Keizan had identified the guardian spirit of Yōkōji as Inari. Legends linking early Sōtō leaders (such as Dōgen, Keizan, and Gasan) to Hakusan cannot be traced to sources earlier than the Tokugawa period. Although Imaeda's hypothesis is intriguing, the actual role of Hakusan worship in the popularization of medieval Sōtō remains mysterious.[26]

Moreover, lone Sōtō monks could proselytize effectively without appeals to Hakusan faith. They possessed many advantages over traditional itinerant holy men. First, Sōtō monks were fully ordained

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[25]A detail of the talisman attributed to Keizan appears in a plate, *SG*, 16 (1974).

[26]Satō Shunkō, "Sekidōzan shinkō," 73-102.

members of the clergy, trained not only in the Confucian learning and the Zen monastic discipline mentioned above but also empowered to conduct precept ordinations and Buddhist funerals.[27] Medieval recorded sayings reveal that even mountain ascetics (*yamabushi*) would come to Sōtō teachers for funeral services.[28] Second, through their Zen lineage Sōtō monks could claim inheritance to an unbroken transmission of enlightenment derived directly from the Buddha. And finally, among most rural Japanese the Sōtō monks' ability to sit for hours in silent Zen meditation would have been perceived as an even stronger source of magical power (*zenjōriki*), available year-round without the monks' having to journey to distant mountains. The following folk legend concerning Baisan Monpon illustrates how a traditional Buddhist miracle motif would be adapted to emphasize Zen powers.

Baisan is said to have always traveled in complete poverty--when people gave him rice he would cook it for other monks. One night he took refuge in a rural home while the master of the house was away. When the master returned completely drunk later that night, he mistook Baisan's seated figure for an intruder--someone who had sneaked into his house to see his wife. He drew his sword in a jealous rage and cleaved into the monk. The following morning, however, the master awoke sober and full of remorse at his rash deed. He rushed into the front room to discover whom he had killed. To his surprise he found Baisan calmly sitting in meditation completely unharmed. Shocked, the man asked how can this be? Baisan said nothing. Instead Baisan took out the small

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[27]Ordinations and funeral rites will be discussed in chapters 7 and 8 below.

[28]See, for example, Kikuin Zuitan (1447-1524), *Kikuin oshō agyo*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:562a-b.

image of Kannon *bodhisattva* that he always carried inside his robe and carefully unwrapped its cloth cover. Inside the Kannon had been split in two. At that very moment, the man bowed down and became Baisan's disciple.[29] This story contains all the standard elements of a typical "body exchange" (*mikawari*) tale in which a *bodhisattva* endures an injury in place of another (i.e., the piety and charity of the victim versus the wrongful anger of the attacker). Yet it also makes clear that Baisan enjoyed the miraculous protection of the Buddhas because of his seated meditation. It was the charisma of Baisan's silent, seated figure that won the instant devotion of the penitent warrior.

Warrior Patronage

Within two or three generations Gasan's line had established a new series of Sōtō monasteries widely dispersed throughout every region of Japan. This explosive geographical expansion was followed by an extremely rapid numerical rate of growth (see above) as numerous smaller temples were founded in the areas surrounding each of the regional monasteries. The temples and monasteries belonging to this second tier of growth are strongly associated with the "conversion from above" patterns of warrior patronage described by early Zen historians. Although the newly emerging warrior groups of this period (i.e., after Gasan) typically differed economically and socially from those of the Kamakura period, many of their policies toward temple patronage were similar.[30] As was the case with the Kawajiri, Togashi, and Ijira

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[29]*Nichiiki* (1694), fasc. 1, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:52b.

[30]Regarding the characteristics of warrior patronage, see Fujioka, "Zenshū no chihō denpa," 113-37; Suzuki Taizan, "Sōtōshū no kōfu," 270-76; Kawai, *Chūsei buke shakai no kenkyū*, 262-90; and Kawai, "Chūsei bushidan no ujigami ujidera," 5-28.

families described earlier, temple patronage by warriors served both religious and secular goals. In brief, the main characteristics of warrior patronage can be summarized as follows: (1) The founding of new temples would be an integral part of larger strategic policies. (2) Typical reasons for temple patronage would include the patron's desire to strengthen his geographic ties to a region and to assert his loyalty to (or his independence from) other patrons. (3) Often new temples would enshrine the patron's ancestors, thereby using the temple's religious authority to strengthen family loyalties. (4) In order to enhance the patron's own prestige a prestigious monk would be invited to serve as the founding abbot. (5) Disciples of the founding monk would found branch temple sponsored by relatives and retainers of the main patron, thereby reinforcing the patron's alliances. (6) Military considerations might influence the selection of the site of the new temple.[31] (7) Rather than exclusive faith, warriors would support a wide variety of religious practices and institutions.

Two examples will serve to illustrate how these types of policies influenced the establishment of medieval Sōtō monasteries. Both of our examples come from Yamamoto Seiki's research on the patronage of Sōtō temples by minor warrior groups that rose to local

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[31]This point is difficult to document except by anecdotal evidence. Compared to the rather remote locations of many early Sōtō monasteries, later temples tend to be located along river basins and crossroads or at the outer boundaries of towns--all locations where walled temples could be used for a wide variety of military purposes. The large number of temples burned in the wars of this period also suggests that these military considerations had not been ignored.

prominence in Kōzuke (modern Gunma Pref.) during the early fifteenth century.[32]

The first example concerns the Shiroi branch of the Nagao family. This family initially had gained control of the Shiroi area through its association with the Yamanouchi line of the Uesugi. The head of the Shiroi branch, Nagao Kagenaka (1388-1463), had served under five generations of Uesugi (i.e., Norisada, Norimoto [1383-1418], Norizane [1411-1466], Noritada [1433-1454], and Fusaaki [1432-1466]). Kagenaka performed his duties so well that the Yamanouchi Uesugi actually owed much of their own authority to his persistent efforts. Kagenaka had distinguished himself in the eyes of the Ashikaga shogunate by leading his men to repeated victories in the series of military campaigns generally known as the revolt of Zenshū (1416), the Eikyō disturbance (1438), and the battle against Yūki (1440). Moreover, Kagenaka's political endeavors in Kyoto succeeded in having Uesugi Fusaaki appointed to the post of Kamakura *Kanrei* (i.e., chief executive officer of the Ashikaga shogunate) in 1445. Because Fusaaki was then only thirteen years old, Kagenaka served as his regent.[33] Through these actions Kagenaka had firmly established his family's military and

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[32]See his "Chihō bushidan no Sōtōshū juyō ni tsuite," in *Zenshū no sho mondai*, 253-77; "Chūsei ni okeru Sōtōshū no chihō hatten," in *Kasahara Kazuo hakase kanreki kinen Nihon shūkyōshi ronshū*, 1 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1976), 447-71; "Kita Jōshū ni okeru Sōtō Zen no denpa ni tsuite: Shiroi Nagaoshi no baai," in *Nihon ni okeru seiji to shūkyō*, ed. Kasahara Kazuo (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1974), 55-82; and "Sengoku shoki ni okeru Zensō no rinri shisō ni tsuite," in *Nihon ni okeru rinri to shūkyō*, ed., Shimode Sekiyo (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1980), 193-216. Many details of Kōzuke local history and family relationships during this period are subject to dispute. In the following paragraphs, I am relying on Yamamoto's interpretations.

[33]Isshū Shōi, "Goyō no ki" (1464), in *Kōzuke Sōrinji denki*, in *SZ*, 15, *Jishi*, 413-14. This temple history actually is a detailed biography of Nagao Kagenaka.

political preeminence among the retainers of the Yamanouchi line. He laid the groundwork for the Nagao to totally usurp the Uesugi at the time of Nagao Kagetora (1530-1578; a.k.a. Uesugi Kenshin)

In 1447 Kagenaka retired while at the height of his power. He formally received a lay ordination from a Sōtō teacher and bequeathed all his responsibilities to his son Kagenobu. Three years later in 1450 he ordered his son to sponsor the construction of a new Sōtō Zen monastery. That monastery, Sōrinji, was inaugurated by the Sōtō teacher Isshū Shōi (1416-1487). Kagenaka never recorded the reasons why he decided to sponsor Sōrinji. Certainly his eclectic religious practices would have precluded any exclusive faith or sudden conversion to Zen.

Kagenaka's regular pattern of worship is extremely well documented.[34] He patronized a wide variety of religious establishments, among which the Shiroi shrine dedicated to the Nagao family ancestor was the most important. There Kagenaka enshrined copies of his family history and convened military consuls to decide strategy. Within the precincts of the ancestral shrine Kagenaka also erected a smaller shrine dedicated to Ise, because he believed that the Shiroi lands had once been managed as income property for the Grand Shrine at Ise.[35] Resident shrine celebrants were ordered to offer prayers day and night for the

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[34]Isshū Shōi, "Goyō no ki," in *Kōzuke Sōrinji denki*, in *SZ*, 15, *Jishi*, 413-15.

[35]Ise Shrine estates (i.e., *mikuriya*) usually would have an official branch shrine (*shinmeisha*) of Ise because the produce from these lands would be treated as official offerings to the shrine. The branch shrines constructed as a result of this economic arrangement promoted strong faith in Ise among the landed warrior groups during the medieval period. See Hagiwara Tatsuo, *Chūsei saishi soshiki no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1962), 474-86; and Kawai Masaharu, "Ise jingū to buke shakai" (1955), rpt. in *Ise shinkō I: Kodai-chūsei*, ed. Hagiwara Tatsuo, Minshū Shūkyōshi Sōsho, 1 (Tokyo: Yūsankaku, 1985), 73-80.

military success of the Nagao troops. The Shiroi branch of the Nagao family also had sponsored another Buddhist temple, at which they enshrined an image of Benzaiten. Kagenaka regularly prayed at this family temple for worldly success. At that same temple he later enshrined a sixteen-foot image of Amida Buddha in order to pray for the salvation of his men who had fallen in battle. For his men who were still living, he built a Confucian hall (*seidō*) and hired a Confucian scholar from Kyoto to lecture six days each month on duty and loyalty. All of these rites and observances focused on the collective success of the Nagao line.

Kagenaka's new Sōtō monastery, Sōrinji, emphasized the salvation and the aggrandizement of Nagao Kagenaka. Kagenaka's recorded connections to the Sōtō school began with a lay ordination. More significantly, his Sōtō observances concluded with a Zen funeral. Not only was Kagenaka interred at Sōrinji, but his funeral was followed by the dedication of a statue in his likeness, also enshrined at Sōrinji.[36] Isshū Shōi (the master of Sōrinji) wrote a detailed biography of Kagenaka to commemorate the first anniversary of his death, emphasizing his military success, his administrative virtue, and his religious piety.[37] On a personal level, the lay ordination offered a tangible link to the Buddha, while the funeral service would have been performed as a symbolic testament to Kagenaka's salvation.[38] Likewise, the very elaborate series of rites that accompany a Zen funeral, the ostentatious

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[36]Isshū Shōi, "Nagao Shōken yōzōki" (1463), in *Kōzuke Sōrinji denki*, in *SZ*, 15, *Jishi*, 412.

[37]Isshū Shōi, "Goyō no ki" (1464), in *Kōzuke Sōrinji denki*, in *SZ*, 15, *Jishi*, 412-15.

[38]See below, chapters 7-8.

statue of Kagenaka, and the picus biography all would help immortalize his memory. On a political level, these acts would have lent the religious authority of Sōrinji to the Nagao family's administration of Shiroi and to their military command.

The Nagao family was served by two local peasant leaders, namely, the Numata to the north and the Obata to the south.[39] Members of all three families and the men they commanded fought side by side. Because Nagao Kagenaka and his son Kagenobu frequently left Shiroi to manage their affairs in Kyoto and Kamakura, during their absences they risked having their local control undermined by these two families. Kagenobu sent his daughter to the Numata in marriage to forestall any rivalry by that family. Moreover, both the Numata and Obata were enlisted to support Sōrinji--the monastery dedicated to Kagenaka's memory. Responsibility for the construction of each of the monastery's buildings probably had been allotted among each group of allies.[40] Moreover, the brother of the head of the Obata family became a monk at Sōrinji and the personal disciple of Isshū. He later founded a branch temple of Sōrinji in the Obata's territory. The Numata also were induced to sponsor a branch temple, Gyokusenji, located in their lands. Isshū compared Sōrinji and Gyokusenji to the two wheels of a single cart

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[39]Information in this paragraph is based on Yamamoto, "Kita Jōshū ni okeru Sōtō Zen," 72-79.

[40]This speculation is founded on the fact that the second abbot of Sōrinji, Don'ei Eō (1424-1504), in his opening address at another Sōtō temple (Chōnenji) in Shiroi, specifically mentions that the retainers of that temple's patron had contributed to its construction. See his *Kasugazan Rinsen kaisan Don'ei Zenji goroku*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:373-74.

and ordered the monks of each to always support the other.[41] The branch temples sponsored by the Obata and Numata families, therefore, reenacted in the religious arena the same political alliance that these three families had forged in the military arena.

The second example highlights how the Yokose family used their growing military power to increase the number of branch temples affiliated with the Sōtō monastery Kinryūji, which they sponsored.[42] The early history of Kinryūji is disputed, but by about 1475-85 its main patron was Yokose Kunishige and its abbot was Kunishige's brother Zaishitsu Chōtan. Zaishitsu originally had begun his religious training at a Rinzai monastery sponsored by the Iwamatsu family--the family served by Kunishige. By becoming a monk at the monastery sponsored by his brother's lord, Zaishitsu had demonstrated both his and his brother's loyalty to the Iwamatsu. Zaishitsu's subsequent conversion to Sōtō was accompanied by Kunishige's growing authority within the Iwamatsu group. By the late 1470s, Kunishige had become the Iwamatsu's senior political adviser and leading battlefield commander. It was about this time that Kunishige became the main patron of Kinryūji and his brother became abbot. In 1494 Kunishige became regent upon the death of the Iwamatsu family patriarch (Iwamatsu Iezumi), with complete control over all Iwamatsu affairs. In 1528 Kunishige's descendant (Yasushige) killed the last Iwamatsu heir, thereby taking possession of the Iwamatsu domains both in name and in actuality. When seen against this background, Zaishitsu's conversion to Sōtō, Kunishige's patronage

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[41]"Isshū oshō isho" (1484), in *Sōrinji rentōroku*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:663.

[42]Yamamoto, "Chūsei ni okeru Sōtōshū," 447-71; and "Chihō bushidan no Sōtōshū juyō," 253-77.

of the new Sōtō monastery Kinryūji, and Zaishitsu's abbotship at Kinryūji, all seem to have been designed (1) to assert the independence of the Yokose and (2) to enhance the personal authority of the Yokose within the Iwamatsu domain.

As subsequent generations of the Yokose enlarged their family's domains, the number of Sōtō temples they sponsored grew apace. Between 1504 and 1574 different members of the Yokose family founded eight new Sōtō temples, each one of which was located in lands that formally had been controlled by the family of a vanquished competitor. For example, in 1573 Yokose Narishige (a.k.a. Yura Narishige; 1506-1578) attacked and defeated the Kiryū family. In Kiryū's former domain he founded Hōsenji. Each of temples founded by the Yokose was affiliated with Kinryūji. Moreover, the retainers of the Yokose also had founded at least ten Sōtō temples, each one of which was affiliated with a temple founded by the Yokose. Through military expansion alone a whole network of Sōtō temples, centered on Kinryūji, with branch and sub-branch temples had been established throughout the lands conquered by the Yokose. These temples had been constructed in order to help cement the Yokose's control over both their newly acquired domains and their retainers. Moreover, each temple had been imposed from the top down without regard for the religious sentiments of the local residents.

Sōtō monasteries and temples attained the highest rate of numerical growth during the incessant civil conflicts of the sixteenth century. In symbiotic relationships with warrior groups, Sōtō monks used the military successes of their patrons in order to establish branch temples in new areas, while the patrons used the religious authority of the Sōtō establishments to further their own political

goals. As retainers of major patrons founded their own branch and sub-branch temples, more and more smaller Sōtō monasteries were founded by patrons of ever lower social positions.[43]

Sōtō monastic events began to include ritual displays of deference to the patron, because monastic patronage depended upon maintaining this symbiosis between religious and political goals. The patron and his men always would be invited to the monastery upon the inauguration of a new abbot or upon the completion of any monastic construction. On these occasions the abbot's speech would include formal thanks for the patron's protection and prayers for his well being. Baisan Monpon even wrote a letter to his patron (the Kofuse family) stating that he (Baisan) did not regard his monastery (Ryūtakuji) as his own but as the patron's property.[44] Likewise, Jochū Tengin (1365-1440) ordered his disciples to always obey orders from their patrons.[45] In spite of the rules against Buddhist monks drinking and distributing alcohol, *sake* always would be served to the patron and his men.[46] The patron would be served directly by the abbot, while his men would each receive lesser treatment by lower ranked monastic

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[43]Hanuki Masai, "Chūsei Aisuryō no Zenshū shoha to sono dan'otsu," *Komazawa shigaku*, 15 (1968): 18-36.

[44]*Monpon jihitsu shojō*, in *Komonjo*, no. 1890, 2:745-46.

[45]*Tengin yuikai* (1437:1:25), in *Komonjo*, no. 1284, 2:313.

[46]Although Sōtō abbots served *sake* to patrons, they repeatedly forbid their students from drinking alcohol. See, for example, Baisan Monpon, *Tōzan hatto no shidai*, a.k.a. *Ryūtakuji hatto*, in *Komonjo*, no. 1282, 2:311.

officials, each matched to his position.[47] This method of serving would reinforce the secular social status conferred by the patron on his men. At some Sōtō monasteries peasant groups and craftsmen residing on the monastic lands would assemble within the main gate at the beginning of every new year to offer ritual New Year's greetings (*kissho hajime*) to the patron. In format, these ceremonies would be the same as the ones conducted each new year by the warrior's retainers as a ritual show of loyalty. The performance of these ritual greetings indicates that their warrior patrons expected these Sōtō monasteries to function similarly to other administrative agencies.[48]

The Popularization of Medieval Sōtō

Rural Sōtō temples, whether founded as a result of a Sōtō teacher's proselytizing or as a result of warrior alliances, functioned not only as a center for Zen practice but also as an object of laymen's religious veneration.[49] The religious attitudes of monastic patrons differed very little between rural village leaders and lower-level warrior groups (such as the Yokose and their retainers). Although the economic and political roles of village leaders and warrior lords placed

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[47]See, for example, Daitetsu Sōrei, *Sōjiji hattō zōritsu chūmon* (1389:9:29), in *Komonjo*, no. 99, 1:70, 72; and *Seigenzan Yōtakuji gyōji no shidai*, copied ca.1582, recopied 1633, in *SZ*, 4, *Shingi*, 550b, 552b, 553. The first document records the amount of money spent on *sake* to be served during the dedication ceremony of Sōjiji's new lecture hall. The Yōtakuji monastic code is especially noteworthy since the compiler noted that it conforms to the norms found at other major Sōtō monasteries (such as Eiheiji, Sōjiji and Ryūtakuji).

[48]Hirose Ryōkō, "Chūsei no Zensō-Zenji to rinri-chitsujo: Sōtōshū wo chūshin to shite," in *Nihon ni okeru rinri to shūkyō*, ed. Shimode Sekiyo (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1980), 178-83.

[49]The information in this paragraph is based on Kawakubo, "Taiso no shūkyō no rekishiteki seikaku," 51-53, 72-74.

them in mutual conflict, both groups derived power from their ability to organize and control local agricultural production.[50] The ambitions of both groups often suffered unexpected reversals due to human failings and the irregularity of natural events. More importantly, both groups had been born in the same rural nexus and raised on the same village cycle of traditional annual religious rites. These traditional rites expressed simple prayers for the success of the harvest and the prosperity of the household. Rural chapels originally served as focal points to augment the efficacy of these prayers. As revealed by the early history of the transformation of Morookadera into Sōjiji, local patrons would have expected these same religious functions to be performed after the inauguration of a new Zen teacher. As a rule Sōtō teachers conformed to these expectations. Regardless of the sectarian orientation of the original central image in a rural chapel, it usually would not be replaced. Theoretically Zen temples should enshrine images of Shaka, but many Sōtō monasteries enshrine images of Kannon, Yakushi (Skt. Bhaiṣajyaguru), Jizō, and Amida.[51] This indicates that rather than supplanting the petitionary role of the village chapel, new Sōtō monasteries were founded in order to enhance it.

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[50]Village leaders would have exercised this control directly through leadership of village councils and peasant associations, while warriors would have exerted indirect control through the granting of privileges and the collecting of taxes. See Miyagawa Mitsuru with Cornelius J. Kiley, "From Shōen to Chigyō: Proprietary Lordship and the Structure of Local Power," in *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, ed. John. W. Hall and Toyoda Takeshi, 93-95.

[51]For statistical analyses of the central images in Japanese Sōtō temples, see Sakauchi, "Sōtōshū ni okeru mikkyō," 39 [nationwide]; and Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Bukkyō ni okeru bosatsu shisō: Toku ni Sōtōshū ni okeru Jizō bosatsu shinkō wo chūshin to shite," *Nihon Bukkyō gakkai nenpō*, 51 (1986): 477 [Fukui, Ibaraki and Yamagata Prefectures].

Sōtō monks were expected to function as religious specialists who would provide rural patrons not just Buddhist salvation but also worldly benefits in this life (*genze riyaku*). In Japanese Buddhism ritual prayers for worldly prosperity usually are associated with the esoteric tantras practiced in the Tendai and Shingon traditions. Sōtō teachers, however, could not have successfully competed with Tendai and Shingon monks in the performance of elaborate tantric displays. Not only would most Sōtō teachers have lacked the proper training, but to adapt these rites would have obscured the claims made by Zen teachers that they represented a unique transmission of the Buddha's enlightenment not found in other forms of Buddhism.[52] Instead Sōtō monks (and rural Zen teachers in general) relied upon the solemn dignity of their own Chinese-style Zen rites to impress patrons with their religious power.[53] Chinese Chan tradition already included its own unique rituals for chanting scripture and mystical formulae, to the accompaniment of its own special gongs and music.[54] Moreover, Chinese monastic codes already included ritual prayers for many crucial agricultural concerns, such as prayers for sunshine (*kisei*), for rain (*kiu*), for snow (*kisetsu*), to prevent insects from damaging crops (*kenkō*), and for protection from solar and lunar eclipses.[55] In performing these ritual prayers, Zen monks would not invoke the power of

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[52]Hirose, "Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō," 133.

[53]Fujioka, "Zenshū no chihō denpa," 132-33.

[54]In this regard, it is interesting to note that monks at the original Sōjiji in Noto still preserve a traditional method of chanting *dhāraṇī*, which is said to be more faithful to the style practiced by Sōtō monks in the medieval period.

[55]*Chixiu Baijiang qinggui* (Jpn. *Chokushū Hyakujō shingi;* 1338), fasc. 1, in *T*, 48:1115a-b.

a special Buddhist divinity (as would be done in esoteric rites) but invoke the spiritual power derived from their own monastic purity and meditation practice.

Therefore, the importance of Zen's traditional monastic practice cannot be underestimated when considering monks' ability to earn the respect and support of patrons. Critics of Japanese Buddhism and its rampant secularization tend to leave the impression that prayers for worldly benefits and pure monastic practice are somehow incompatible. However, the opposite also can be true. In the eyes of rural laymen the power of Buddhist prayers would be enhanced by the ritual purity and meditative practice of the monks. Descriptions of Sōtō rituals reveal that medieval Sōtō monks consciously relied upon the power of their pure practice. For example, scripture recitations performed as supplications before native divinities (*ryūten*) would require the monks to sit in meditation and to control their breathing so that the *Shingyō* (Heart Sūtra) could be recited in one breath.[56] With each new breath a monk would recite the entire scripture again--a feat not easily accomplished without years of meditation practice and inner power (*zenjōriki*). This type of meditative recitation always is

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[56]See, for example, *Ryūten kankin*, transmitted 1728:5 by Fusan Yūden, rpt. in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron," pt. 6, *KBRS*, 16 (1985): 137. In this document the character *san* ("to praise") stands for the character for "to study." Also, the illegible character followed by *uchi* ("include") in Ishikawa's transcription should be one single character, namely *hanaru* ("to be separate"; for which the *uchi* represents the lower left element).

performed to bring about worldly benefits, such as to summon rain.[57] Medieval monks also relied on their meditative power to endow physical objects with spiritual power (*tamashi ire;* literally, "to install the spirit"). All ritual objects (such as new Buddhist images, memorial pillars, talismans, and mortuary tablets) would be consecrated (*tengen*) by a similar ritual before being used. To be ritually effective, a Sōtō monk would have to simultaneously inscribe the object and recite a series of secret Zen verses while continually maintaining a meditative state of pure awareness undisturbed by a single thought. The consecration process also would be followed with a special session of Zen meditation.[58]

Medieval Sōtō would perform these magico-religious rituals both for their own benefit and for the benefit of their patrons. At Yōkōji, for example, the monks consecrated new talismans to prevent fires every year during the third lunar month. These talismans not only were hung in all the monastic buildings but also distributed to the monastery's patrons.[59] The desire to perform this rituals effectively reinforced the desire to practice meditation as well. In this way popular devotional Buddhism--founded on the strong faith of rural Japanese in the magical efficacy of prayers--and strict Zen monasticism were not at

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[57]One westerner who witnessed a modern Zen monk successfully summon rain described his performance as follows: "His pleasant monotone droned on for interminable passages, interrupted at their end by convulsive heaves as he ran out of breath and sucked in through closed teeth to fill his lungs for the next section." See Geoffrey Bownas, *Japanese Rainmaking and Other Folk Practices*, with line drawings by Pauline Brown (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1963), 114.

[58]See, for example, *Anza tengen*, in *Bukke ichi daiji yasan* (ca. mid. 16th cent.), rpt. in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron," pt. 2, *KBRS*, 14 (1983): 146-47.

[59]*Tōkoku shingi*, in *SZ*, 2, *Shūgen*, 2:672b; in *JDZ*, 315.

all mutually exclusive. During the medieval period regular sessions of Zen meditation continued to be emphasized at Sōtō monasteries.

In fact many medieval Sōtō monasteries enjoyed high reputations for enforcing strict meditation practice. Kisen Shūshō (the *Gozan* registrar of monks) reported that Rinzai monks often would study under Sōtō teachers in spite of their general disdain for Sōtō in order to learn the proper mental techniques for Zen meditation. According to Kisen, most of the outstanding Zen masters (*chishiki*) of his day were Sōtō-affiliated.[60] Medieval Sōtō monastic rules repeatedly urged the monks not to be lax in their meditation.[61] In an extreme example, Baisan Monpon's 1415 code for his main monastery (Ryūtakuji) states that when the monks are not engaged in other required rituals, they must spend twenty-four hours a day in meditation.[62] Likewise, Jochū Tengin ordered his disciples to conduct only a simplified funeral on his behalf, with regular meditation sessions substituting for devotional rites.[63] Biographies of eminent Sōtō monks suggest that these regulations had been enforced. Don'ei Eō (1424-1504), for example, after having become frustrated at his lack of progress during fourteen

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[60]*Onryōken nichiroku*, entry for 1491:1:25, in *NBZ*, 136:384a.

[61]See, for example, Baisan Monpon, *Baisan oshō jūshichikajō kingo* (1388:4:8), a.k.a. *Baisan oshō jūshichikajō sadame*, in *Komonjo*, no. 1281, 2:310; Don'ei Eō, "Don'ei oshō yuikai no sho" (1503), in *Sōrinji rentōroku*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:663b; and Sekkō Tokuchū (1475-1570), "Tōgen kakun" (1558:4:15), in *Teishōji kaisan rekidai ryakuden*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:720b.

[62]*Tōzan hatto no shidai*, in *Komonjo*, 2:311. This document states that except when performing the morning, noon and evening services, the monks must spend two sets of "six hours" in meditation--but each of these premodern hours corresponds to two modern hours.

[63]*Tengin yuikai*, in *Komonjo*, 2:313.

years of study at Rinzai Gozan monasteries, called upon a Sōtō teacher, Tennō Soin (d.1467), for help. Tennō's first instructions were:

> In our school, [only] those who meditate are called monks. Shōrin [i.e., Bodhidharma] sat facing a wall for nine years. Haven't you ever thought of [trying] that?

Thereafter, Tennō forced Don'ei to meditate day and night, severely rebuking any sign of laxity.64

In addition to instructing the monks within the monastery medieval Sōtō teachers also interacted with both patrons and commoners in a variety of ceremonies performed outside the monastery. The most important of these ceremonies would be mass precept ordinations and funeral services (both discussed below in separate chapters). In their funeral sermons, Sōtō teachers often directly affirmed the religious value of farming.[65] Sensō Esai (1409-1475), for example, cited the example of Baijiang Huaihai (Jpn. Hyakujō Ekai; 749-814) to assert that religious truth is found not in book learning but in working the land.[66] Likewise, Shōdō Kōsei (1431-1508) asserted that agricultural labor was the cultivation of unconditioned virtue.[67] Shōdō is particularly noteworthy for his participation in many types of village religious

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[64]Gyokuin Eiyo (1432-1524), "Sōrin sansei Rinsen kaisan gyōjōki" (1504), in *Sōrinji rentōroku*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:660-61.

[65]Hirose Ryōkō, "Zensō to sengoku shakai: Tōkoku ni katsudō shita Zenshōtachi wo chūshin to shite," in *Sengoku no heishi to nōmin*, Sugiyama Hiroshi Sensei Kanreki Kinen Ronshū (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1978), 410-11.

[66]*Sensō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 2, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:327b. A well-known story states that when concerned disciples deprived the elderly Baijiang Huaihai of his hoe, he refused to eat until they allowed him to work in the fields again.

[67]*Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 3, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:518a.

festivals.[68] Considering Shōdō's personal background--he was not only an accomplished Zen teacher and scholar of Chinese but also the scion of the local ruler--one might reasonably have expected him to have been aloof from the common people. Yet just the opposite seems to have been true.

In one instance, Shōdō composed a memorial inscription for an illiterate Buddhist mendicant who had organized an informal assemble to recite the *Hokekyō* one-thousand times.[69] The itinerant mendicant had raised funds for the assembly by begging in fish markets and drinking shops and had invited all the villagers to attend. The assembly was held in an open field, where a feast was prepared for everyone. According to Shōdō's description, the place resembled a marketplace, thronged with all kinds of people, male and female, young and old. The people prayed not only for themselves but also for the repose of the large numbers of local residents who had died in recent military conflicts. Shōdō lent his support and respectability to this assembly, thereby establishing his unity with the local peasants. His easy personableness introduced his Zen to large numbers of commoners.

We can summarize the features of Sōtō popularization from the above descriptions. The Sōtō school was able to plant firm roots among rural Japanese during the medieval period on the strenght of the efforts of Sōtō monks to appeal to the religious sentiments of the average people. Seven elements have been identified as having contributed to

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[68]Hirose, "Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō," 145 nn. 43-44; and *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fascs. 1-3, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:415a, 422b, 464b.

[69]See Hirose, "Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō," 157-59; and *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 3, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:470-71.

the success of these efforts, namely: (1) the offering of ritual prayers for worldly benefits; (2) the equating of Zen meditation with mystical power; (3) a favorable reputation for strict monastic practice; (4) mass precept ordinations; (5) funeral services; (6) religious affirmations of farming; and (7) participation with the local population in rural religious festivals. Yet it is doubtful if medieval Sōtō monks themselves would have recognized these proselytizing techniques as means of popularizing the Zen tradition. For example, Gasan's disciple Gessen Ryōin described one of the temples he founded as having seven supernatural features.[70] Yet Gessen also severely criticized Buddhist teachers who use tales of miraculous events in order to attract popular support.[71] Moreover, not all Sōtō teachers encouraged traditional forms of popular worship. Shōdō Kōsei was particularly iconoclastic in his rejection of devotional prayers.[72] When several of his students became sick, Shōdō said that their fevers were warning signs against laziness and ordered the sick monks to meditate without interruption for the next seven days.[73]

In 1498 Shōdō addressed a mixed audience of monks and laymen concerning the recent natural disasters that had devastated their local area (Tōtōmi). For two years the people had been ravaged by warfare, during which houses and temples had been burned and patrons,

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[70]Kindō Ryōkiku (1408-1477), *Gessen Ryōin Zenji gyōjōki*, in *ZSZ*, 10, *Shiden*, 536b. Regarding the temple in question, Zuiun'in (Yamagata Pref.), see Kōgan Shōden (1334-1431), *Zuiun'in engiki*, in *ZSZ*, 10, *Jishi*, 243-53.

[71]*Hoda kaisan Gessen Zenji goroku*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:103b.

[72]See Hirose, "Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō," 140-45, 155-63; and "Zensō to sengoku shakai," 387-418.

[73]*Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:412b.

noncombatants and monks alike had been killed.[74] In the fifth lunar month of 1498 hail storms had destroyed the farmer's crops. In the middle of the seventh month tornadoes struck, destroying many dwellings. On the evening of the eighth day of the eighth month, heavy rains and floods had damaged more residences. Finally in the early morning on the twenty-fifth of that month, the area suffered a major earthquake and tsunami. In the resulting pandemonium, the young clung to the pillars of their homes, waiting to die, while the elderly called out the name of Buddha. Shōdō sought to calm his listeners. He began by describing himself:

> This old man has spent more than thirty years in the *Rinka* [monasteries],[75] sitting in Zen meditation, quietly withering away my desires, without expectations for the morrow. When hunger comes, I eat. When the time comes, I sleep. My exhalations do not stir up the myriad causal relationships. My inhalations do not reside in the interactions of consciousness (*onkai*). The present does not persist. The past and future do not exist. Non-thought is my thought. Eternally, I dwell in *nehan* [Skt. *nirvāṇa*]. This is called the mind that is not possessed by the three states [of time]. This mind-not-possessed (*fukatoku shin*) is the very essence of the diamond wisdom (*kongō hannya*). This very essence withstands the

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[74]Numerous references to the destruction caused by this warfare are found in Shōdō's *goroku*. See *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fascs. 1, 3-4, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:416b, 453a-b, 456a, 460-63, 472a-b, 493-94. Regarding early career of the monk mentioned by Shōdō on p. 472, also see fasc. 2, p. 418b.

[75]*"Rinka"* monasteries are Zen monasteries that are not part of the official *Gozan* establishment. The word *"rinka"* (literally "beneath the grove") originally referred to a gathering place used for Buddhist study. In the eighth-century diary by Ennin, it is used to refer to any type of Buddhist monastery. Medieval *Gozan* monks, however, used *rinka* in a pejorative sense to refer to all Zen temples not included within the officially-sponsored *Gozan* system. They called their *Gozan* monasteries *"sōrin"* (i.e., complete groves). Modern scholars (based on Tamamura Takeji's "Rinka no mondai" [1950]), use the terms *"gozan"* and *"rinka"* to distinquish two broad classes of medieval Zen institutions. The former are said to be urban-based, aristocratic, and centers of Chinese studies, while the latter are thought of as rural-based, centers of popularized folk and village religion. This modern useage is not completely accurate, since the medieval Rinzai *Rinka* also included lineages based in Kyoto temples such as Daitokuji.

> blowing storm winds without moving, withstands eons of rising flames without burning, and withstands the tremors of earthquakes without cracking. The four [arguments for temporal] immutability in the *Jōron* refer to this.[76] This is why the scripture says: 'The *Nyorai* [Skt. *Tathāgata;* i.e., the Buddha], having left the burning house of the three states [of time], lives in quiet seclusion within the woods. Now within the three states [of time], everything belongs to [him]; All the beings therein are [his] children.'[77] As this old man reflects on recent events, I keep recalling these two lines. The Great Teacher's [i.e., the Buddha's] boundless beneficence is fully inscribed therein.[78]

Shōdō, however, did not tell his audience merely to trust in the Buddha. Instead, he urged them to repent of their sinful way. He asserted that there had never been a year with as many disasters as this one because there had never before been so many wicked people. The true natural disasters, he said, are the avarice, hostility, and ignorance that afflict everyone. Shōdō equated avarice with fires, hostility with floods, and ignorance with stormy weather. People should not accuse others of these faults but only examine their own selves, because each person receives the karmic results of his own actions. According to Shōdō, the recent disasters were retribution for the widespread greed and treachery of the age. He then lectured his audience on the Buddhist precepts as prescriptions designed to free man from his afflictions. Shōdō also cited the Confucian classics, such as the *Chūyō* (Doctrine of

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[76]The meaning of the word "four" is unclear, since there are five arguments for temporal immutability in the *Jōron* (Ch. *Zhaolun*). See Walter Liebenthal, *Chao Lun: The Treatises of Seng-chao, A Translation With Introduction, Notes and Appendices* (2d rev. edn., Hong Kong: Hong Kong U. Press, 1968), 35-39; and Richard H. Robinson, *Early Mādhyamika in India and China* (Madison, Wis.: U. of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 146-54.

[77]See the *Miaofa lianhuajing* (Jpn. *Myōhō rengekyō;* Lotus Sūtra), fasc. 2, in *T*, 9:13a. Since the Buddha is the speaker of these lines, the words "Him" and "His" actually should be "Me" and "My." In order to avoid confusion, I have changed them.

[78]*Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:390-91. For the remarks summarized in the next paragraph, see ibid., 390-93.

the Mean) and the *Daigaku* (Great Learning), to assert that ethical relationships based on social position are the foundation of peace. He chastised the rulers for their tyranny and admonished juniors for usurping their superiors.

Most significantly, Shōdō warned his audience that traditional religious rites would be worthless without self-reproach and moral reform. He said that it was pitiful to see people, who had never experience a good thought or performed a good deed, trying to solve their predicaments by making religious offering at shrines and temples, praying to the *kami* and Buddhas, and relying on the pronouncements of shamans and oracles. Shōdō concluded with the assertion that because all people are the Buddha's children, they can realize the Buddha's blessings merely by not rejecting the Buddha's prescriptions. He exhorted Buddhist monks to observe the precepts and called upon the people to revere the Buddha and to uphold Confucian ethical norms.

Sōtō monasteries achieved their greatest rate of numerical growth during a period of social upheaval. Shōdō's sermon provides a fascinating glimpse of how one Sōtō leader attempted to instill in his students and lay supporters the strength to endure the calamities they encountered. Shōdō's ridicule of devotional worship and his moral sermonizing do not conform to the typical image of how Sōtō teachers proselytized and acquired popular support for Sōtō temples. Indeed, there is no evidence to prove that Shōdō's moral fundamentalism was widespread among other less eminent Sōtō teachers. Yet Shōdō's call to strict moral and ethical values must have struck a responsive chord among people seeking stability in unstable times. Rather than exploiting the popular faith in devotional worship, Shōdō warned his

audience that offerings alone would be inadequate to provide peace of mind. Only good thought and good deeds would assure relief from further disasters. Historical sources are inadequate for exploring how other Sōtō teachers addressed audiences of monks and laymen upon the occurrence of similar misfortunes. Nonetheless, Shōdō's sermon is a reminder that the religious expertise introduced to rural areas by Sōtō monks encompassed more than just impressive rituals.

Sectarian Factions

As mentioned earlier, the ascension of Sōjiji resulted from the strength of the sectarian networks of branch temples that had been established by Gasan's disciples. Sectarian temple lineages are not found in Chinese Chan monasticism, but they were a well established feature of earlier Japanese Buddhist schools. The sectarian conflicts (a) between Giin's Daijiji and Eiheiji, and (b) between Yōkōji, Daijōji, and Sōjiji already have been discussed above. Similar institutional rivalries between major Sōtō monasteries remained a persistent feature of medieval Sōtō. This strong factionalism might well give the impression that a medieval Sōtō school, as such, did not exist. The underlying basis of conflicts between Sōtō lineages, however, always concerned issues of seniority and privilege vis-à-vis each other. Moreover, this competition for superior rank led not only to strong vertical unity within each faction but also to mutual communication among factions. In some conflicts large numbers of missives would be circulated in attempts to enlist the support of third-party monasteries. The resulting relationships that developed within and among the various medieval Sōtō factions laid the foundation for the administrative

consolidation of the Sōtō school that later was ordered by the Tokugawa shogunate.

Prior to the Tokugawa period, not every Sōtō monastery necessarily belonged to a sectarian faction. Little is known about the relationships between these unaffiliated monasteries during the medieval period, because the Tokugawa shogunate enforced the vertical integration of Sōtō monasteries into well-defined lineages. Many smaller temples seem to have had ambiguous status since monks from different lineages would be allowed to serve as their abbots. In other cases, different monasteries founded by the same monk did not always self-consciously identify themselves as belonging to a particular faction even when the founder's descendants continued to control the abbotships of each monastery. Among Gasan's disciples, for example, Dōsō Dōai (d.1379) and Chikudō Ryōgen had founded several monasteries, each with robust lineages which never developed into sectarian factions. Other lineages (such as the Jakuen, Gennō Shinshō, and Mujaku Myōyū lines) maintained a separate self-conscious identity, yet never organized all their related monasteries into a united group. In all the above cases, any smaller branch temples would have been organized into a simple vertical hierarchy. No systematic succession practice would have linked the abbotships of each related temple together. These examples indicate that the formation of a strong sectarian faction could not occur without the establishment of policies to unite and rank the monasteries within the same lineage.

In the Japanese Sōtō school, temple lineages developed naturally from both external and internal stimuli. Externally, the vertical alliances of warrior patrons insured that a major monastery

sponsored by a more powerful patron would have seniority over any new temples founded by that patron's retainers. In this instance, the hierarchical structure of temple lineages reflected secular patterns of lineage and precedence. Internally, the practice of alternating the abbotship of a main monastery among candidates from several lineages required regulations to enforce the cooperation and support of the other monasteries founded by monks in the specified lineages. In this instance, rather than a vertical temple hierarchy, the faction would have a pyramid structure with its main monastery receiving the simultaneous support of several branch monasteries.[79] The more effectively the abbotship succession policy insured the continued enlistment of monks from each monastery in the various affiliated lineages, the stronger the pyramid would become. Because this type of abbotship succession practice played an important role in the policies of most sectarian factions, we will briefly review its origins and development before examining the interactions between the major medieval Sōtō factions.

The Sōtō system of alternating the abbotship among different lineages (literally known as "rotating abbotship," i.e., *"rinjū"*) already has been mentioned several times in reference to Daijiji, Yōkōji, and Sōjiji. This system insured that a major monastery would experience a regular and rapid succession of abbots (*jūji*), but only from among monks who claimed a lineage affiliation to that monastery's founder. Alternating abbots originally had been implemented at Daijiji

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[79]Hirose Ryōkō, "Zenshū un'ei to rinjūsei: Kaga Butsudaji - Echizen Ryūtaiji no baai," in *Zenshūshi no sho mondai*, 280-81; and "Honmatsu seido no seiritsu to tenkai: Sōtōshū," *Kinsei no Bukkyō*, special issue of *Rekishi kōron*, 11:2 (Feb. 1985), 55-60.

and Yōkōji as a means of insuring the sectarian identity and long-term survival of these monasteries. So long as each new abbot represented a different lineage, the main monasteries would have access to the political loyalty, the financial support, and the most able teachers of several affiliated monasteries. This system also helped to promote rapid regional growth by providing a surplus of former abbots. At Sōjiji, Gasan's disciples adopted the rotation of abbotships as a means of increasing Sōjiji's power vis-à-vis Daijōji and Yōkōji. The subsequent ascension of Sōjiji demonstrates the extent to which the practice of alternately inaugurating abbots from among several lineages could contribute not only to the development of factionalism but also to the strength of the resulting factions. Because of the advantages inherent in this system of abbotship succession, at least thirty-four medieval Sōtō monasteries followed this practice.[80]

The two largest Sōtō factions enlisted new abbots from branch monasteries of several lineages not only at their main monasteries, but also at their branch monasteries and sub-branch monasteries. Rather than simple pyramidal structures, the relationships between monasteries in these two factions would resemble pyramids within pyramids. Consider, for example, the largest faction in Japanese Sōtō which represents the dharma lineage of Tsūgen Jakurei.[81] The Tsūgen faction

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[80]The figures cited in this and the following paragraphs regarding the numbers of monasteries with alternating abbotships are based on Hirose, "Zenshū un'ei to rinjūsei," 280-81.

[81]According to the Tokugawa-period *Enkyōdo Sōtōshū jiin honmatsuchō* (1745), this faction claimed the allegiance of 8,931 monasteries and temples. See Yokozeki, *Edo jidai Tōmon seiyō*, 321, 347, 525; and Hirose Ryōkō, "Kinsei Sōtōshū sōroku jiin no seiritsu katei: Tōtōmi Kasuisai no baai," in *Kinsei Bukkyō no sho mondai*, ed. Tamamuro Fumio and Ōkuwa Hitoshi (Tokyo: Yūsankaku, 1979), 88-89.

traditionally had been centered at Yōtakuji, which drew its abbots in a fixed order from as many as ten different lineages (each one of which represented the line of one of Tsūgen's disciples).[82] Including Yōtakuji, at least eleven monasteries within the Tsūgen faction had implemented the practice of alternating abbotship lineages. Likewise, among the monasteries affiliated with the Taigen faction, the second largest faction in Japanese Sōtō, ten had implemented alternating abbotship systems.[83] Although this faction nominally represents the dharma lineage of Taigen Sōshin, actually its formation began with the policies of Baisan Monpon. It is no accident that the two largest Sōtō factions account for the majority of the monasteries with policies of alternation abbotship lineages. Likewise, it is no accident that these two factions are related to Tsūgen Jakurei and Baisan Monpon. In 1390 Tsūgen and Baisan had initiated Sōjiji's formal policy of alternating abbotship succession with their respective retirement and inauguration. Subsequently, both monks also established similar abbotship-succession policies at their own temples.

Tsūgen's policies at Sōjiji and at Yōtakuji must be considered in light of his relationship with Hosokawa Yoriyuki (1329-1392). Yoriyuki served as Kyoto *Kanrei* for fourteen years between 1367 and 1372, during which time he attempted to impose strict restrictions on the lifestyles of secular officials and of Rinzai *Gozan* monks. Opposition to these restrictions as well as Yoriyuki's mishandling of the Nanzenji Gate Incident (ca.1367-1368) not only strained Yoriyuki's

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[82]For the lineages of Yōtakuji's first fifty abbots, see Kuriyama, *Gakusan shiron*, 119-22.

[83]According to the *Enkyōdo Sōtōshū jiin honmatsuchō*, the Taigen faction claimed the allegiance of 4,358 monasteries and temples.

relations with the Rinzai establishment but also gradually weakened his support within the government.[84] Following on the heels of the Nanzenji Gate incident, Yoriyuki's control over the province of Settsu began to be threatened by Yamana Ujikiyo (1344-1391), who in 1374 had begun to strengthen his fortifications in Tanba along Settsu's northern boarder. In order to strengthen his influence along that northern boarder, Yoriyuki sponsored the building of Tsūgen's Yōtakuji in a strategic position just across from Tanba.[85] During Yoriyuki's term as *Kanrei*, the Ashikaga shogunate established the office of registrar of monks to consolidate the *Gozan* monasteries and to place administrative supervision of the monastic community directly in the hands of the *Gozan* monks.[86]

Yōtakuji tradition claims that the imperial court also named Tsūgen the official registrar of monks for the Sōtō school at this time.[87] There is no evidence that Tsūgen or Yōtakuji ever functioned as a registrar; yet the establishment of the *Gozan* registrar did give added impetus to Tsūgen's attempts to consolidate Gasan's lineage at Sōjiji and his own lineage at Yōtakuji. In 1378 Tsūgen proclaimed Sōjiji the

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[84]See Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 119-22.

[85]Nakajima, *Tsūgen oshō no kenkyū*, 101-9. Regarding date of the founding of Yōtakuji, see ibid., 98-100.

[86]The earliest extant imperial order appointing a *Gozan* monk to the office of registrar of monks was issued 1379:4:12 for Shun'oku Myōha (1311-1388). However, scattered references to Shun'oku's service in this office exist from as early as 1367 and 1368, thereby indicating that the imperial order merely had confirmed a previous appointment. See Imaeda Aishin, "Zenritsuhō to Rokuon sōroku," in *Chūsei Zenshūshi no kenkyū*, 276-78.

[87]See, for example, Nisshin Monrō, *Tsūgen oshō gyōjitsu*, in *ZSZ*, 10, *Shiden*, 522a; and Meikyoku Sokushō (1684-1767), *Yōtakuji Tsūgen Zenji gyōgō* (1751), in *SZ*, 17, *Shiden*, 2:270b.

head temple (*honji*) of Gasan's line. By 1390 he had established a fixed order of succession for Sōjiji. The following year, in 1391, Tsūgen proclaimed Yōtakuji the head temple of his own line and promulgated orders for alternating abbotship succession at Yōtakuji. Yoriyuki's personal influence can be seen in Tsūgen's stipulation that Yōtakuji monks shall remain within the monastery, removed from all secular entanglements.[88]

Baisan Monpon also actively promoted the consolidation of his own sectarian lineage. Many of his regulations implementing this policy are known in detail. As explained earlier, Baisan had joined the other abbots at Sōjiji in establishing alternating abbotship succession in 1390. This joint 1390 directive declared that Taigen's line shall be represented at Sōjijji by abbots promoted from Butsudaji--a monastery founded by Taigen--at which Baisan happened to be abbot. Although he left Butsudaji to assume the abbotship at Sōjiji, Baisan continued to help supervise Butsudaji's affairs. In 1396, he joined with Taigen's other surviving major disciple, Ryōdō Shinkaku (1330-1399), to proclaim Butsudaji the chief lineage temple (*tatchū*) of the Taigen faction and to require future Butsudaji abbots to alternately represent the Baisan and Ryōdō lineages.[89] Baisan designated four of his disciples to serve

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[88]*Tsūgen oshō yuikai kibun* (1391:2:28), rpt. in Manzan Dōhaku, ed., *Tsūgen oshō tan'enshi* (1699), in *ZSZ*, 10, *Shiden*, 526. This 1391 version of the *Tsūgen oshō yuikai kibun* (the original of which is stored at Yōtakuji) must not be confused with the version dated 1390:2:15 having the same title (also included in *Tsūgen oshō tan'enshi* on the same page--as well as in the *Shimofusa Sōneijiki* [1721], in *SZ*, 15, *Jishi*, 439-40). The 1390:2:15 version generally is regarded as a forgery, created in 1648 as part of an attempt to promote Sōneiji's status. See Kuriyama, *Sōjijishi*, 480.

[89]Baisan Monpon [and Ryōdō Shinkaku], *Butsudaji miraisai no okibumi no anmon* (1396:8), rpt. in Hirose Ryōkō, "Shigaken Tōjuin monjo ni tsuite," *SG*, 18 (1976): 161-62.

successive terms as abbot at his monastery Ryūtakuji at the end of 1415, two years before his death. In the text of his directive, Baisan repeated three times the injunction that his disciples must not follow their own inclinations.[90] The following year Baisan issued a series of directives intended to consolidate his line at Ryūtakuji. First, he designated Ryūtakuji as the head temple (*honji*) of his line and ordered all the disciples of the four previously named successors to also serve alternating terms as abbots. These future disciples were ordered to pay their own inauguration fees as Ryūtakuji abbots even if they could not afford the expenses involved in becoming abbots at Sōjiji.[91] In other words, when candidates for abbotship lacked sufficient funds they could forgo their terms of service at Sōjiji but not at Ryūtakuji. To emphasize Ryūtakuji's ability to substitute for Sōjiji, Baisan also designated Ryūtakuji as a chief lineage temple for the entire Gasan line. He named ten of his students to serve successive terms as priors (*tassu*) at Ryūtakuji--thereby equating his own lineage with the whole of Gasan's line.[92] Finally, Baisan selected ten senior students to be counselors (*bugyōsō*) at Ryūtakuji, to advise future abbots in all affairs, large and small.[93]

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[90]*Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi* (1415:12:18), in *Komonjo*, no. 1886, 2:741-42.

[91]*Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi* (1416:12:13), Ryūtakuji (Fukui Pref.) DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 1887, 2:742-43. Baisan issued three separate directives on this date. Although all three have the same title and date, in *Komonjo* they each have different serial numbers. The enrollment fees and other expenses required of abbots will be discussed below.

[92]Baisan Monpon, *Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi* (1416:12:13), Ryūtakuji (Fukui Pref.) DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 1888, 2:743-44.

[93]Baisan Monpon, *Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi* (1416:12:13), Ryūtakuji (Fukui Pref.) DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 1889, 2:744-45.

Baisan knew that the future success of Ryūtakuji depended upon mutual cooperation between all his disciples and their descendants. Toward this end, he had established three levels of joint management at Ryūtakuji: the abbot, the prior, and the counselor. Baisan selected the membership of each level from among his disciples and his students (who would become the disciples of his disciples). These arrangements highlight an essential feature of the medieval Sōtō system of alternating abbotship succession. In order for the main monastery to thrive all its affiliated lineages not only had to cooperate with each other but also had to share in the management of the main monastery. The main monastery of each sectarian faction ultimately derived its authority from the consensus of its affiliated lineages. The alternating succession of abbots enhanced mutual consensus because it guaranted each lineage a measure of equal representation.[94] Baisan's directives establishing the joint management of Ryūtakuji further strengthened the cooperation between the lineages of his disciples. Baisan then reinforced the administrative integration at Ryūtakuji with a series of regulations to enforce interpersonal cooperation as well. He forbad monks from vocalizing any form of complaint, criticism, or hostility. Actions based only on the assumed consent of others were forbidden in order to prevent accidental misunderstandings.[95]

The policies of leaders such as Baisan and Tsūgen created sectarian factions by linking together dharma lineages and monastic offices into a single administrative and financial system. Subsequent generations employed the same models to gradually expand each faction.

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[94]Hirose, "Chūsei no Zensō-Zenji to rinri-chitsujo," 154-55.

[95]*Baisan oshō jūshichikajō kingo*, in *Komonjo*, 2:309-11.

The regulations promulgated by Baisan's disciple Jochū Tengin, for example, at once restate Baisan's earlier rules on abbotship succession (at Sōjiji, Butsudaji, and Ryūtakuji), while also adding similar new policies of alternating abbotship succession at two of his monasteries (Ryūkain and Daitōin).[96] Within each faction, monasteries that produced qualified Zen teachers would be required to sponsor the promotion of those teachers to the abbotship of that faction's main monasteries. The expenses involved could be quite onerous. The actual fees charged are difficult to document. Both Baisan and Jochū stated that abbotship inauguration fee at Ryūtakuji is the same as at the Taigen-line subtemple within Sōjiji, namely, thirty *kanmon*.[97] In 1558, the Gennō-line monastery Jigenji is reported to have paid Sōjiji fifty *kanmon* in an attempt to have one of its monks promoted to Sōjiji's abbotship.[98] By the mid-Tokugawa period, abbotship at Sōjiji reportedly cost one-thousand *ryō*.[99] Other fees also might be charged new abbots. For example, at the Giin-line monastery Fusaiji, each abbot would have to pay for his inauguration ceremony (5 *kanmon*), for honorary colored robes (3 *kanmon*), and for any memorial tablets placed in Fusaiji's patriarchs'

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[96]*Tengin yuikai*, in *Komonjo*, 2:312-14.

[97]*Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi*, in *Komonjo*, no. 1887, 2:742; and *Tengin yuikai*, in *Komonjo*, 2:313.

[98]*Aizu Jigenji satasho* (ca. 1559-1560), rpt. in *Yūkishishi, 1: Kodai chūsei shiryōhen*, ed. Yūkishishi Hensan Iinkai (Yūki, Ibaraki Pref.: Yūkishi, 1977), 94b; and Hirose Ryōkō, "Gennōha no Eiheiji-Sōjiji shusse mondai to Kantō jiin no dōkō: 'Annonji Satasho' 'Aizu Jigenji satasho' wo chūshin to shite," *SKKK*, 12 (1980): 193, 212a.

[99]Nakajima, *Tsūgen oshō no kenkyū*, 153. Comparing *kanmon* (a monetary unit) to *ryō* (a unit of weight used for precious metals) is rather like comparing apples and oranges. In spite of the fact that in 1601 the Tokugawa shogunate designated the value of one *ryō* as equal to four *kanmon*, in actual use, temporal and geographical differences produced wide variations in the values of these units.

hall. Moreover, each new abbot would be required to raise funds for the repair of monastic buildings.[100]

Sectarian factions also used abbotship to link the smaller Sōtō temples to the main monasteries. The abbotship of each temple within a faction would be restricted to monks who possess the dharma lineage of that faction, thereby forcing many smaller temples to be dependent upon their faction's main training halls for new abbots. In many cases the relationship between main monastery and branch temple would mirror the teacher-disciple relationship of their respective abbots.[101] This dharma relationship not only insured the sectarian loyalty of the branch temples within the same faction but also restricted the size of the other smaller factions and unaffiliated monasteries. Within the larger factions, each new Sōtō teacher would have access to at least three avenues of advancement, namely: abbotship at one of the main monasteries that alternated between affiliated lineages; abbotship at one of the smaller monasteries that functioned as training centers; and abbotship at one of the lower-level branch temples. Smaller factions and unaffiliated monasteries, however, could not provide as large a range of opportunities. If a teacher produced a large number of disciples, most either would have to found their own monastery or would have to assume an abbotship in another faction before they could begin teaching their own disciples. For this reason, by the time of Shōdō Kōsei (d.1505), Sōtō teachers routinely switched dharma lineages in

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[100]*Kōtakuzan Fusaiji nichiyō shingi* (1527), comp. Shūmo, in *SZ*, 4, *Shingi*, 640a-b; and Tokugawa Ieyasu, *Tokugawa Ieyasu hatto* (1585:2:12), Fusaiji (Shizuoka Pref.) D, in *Komonjo*, no. 1636, 2:563-64.

[101]Hirose, "Honmatsu seido no seiritsu to tenkai: Sōtōshū," 55.

order to attain an abbotship position.[102] Regardless of how many new monks a smaller faction might attract, the new teachers it produced rarely would be able to contribute to the expansion of the faction.[103]

The relative status of different temples within the same faction often would be determined according to the "dharma-generation" of their respective founders. Monasteries founded by direct disciples of the faction's founder would have more status than monasteries founded by later generations. This is why the issue of Giin's dharma succession later became a major controversy (i.e., the real issue was the status of his monastery, Daijiji).[104] Traditional claims regarding temple founders are notoriously unreliable, since it was relatively easy to claim an earlier founder for one's monastery. Already by the time the disciples of Gasan's disciples were founding their own monasteries, they commonly credited their teachers as the official "founder" (*kaisan*) while assuming the title "second-generation abbot" for themselves.[105] At some later monasteries the actual founder would be several generations removed from a monastery's supposed founder. For example,

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[102]Shōdō criticized the widespread lineage switching practiced by Sōtō monks in his day (*Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 3, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:451a, 459a).

[103]Kuriyama (*Gakuzan shiron*, 322-28) has demonstrated the actual results of this practice by comparing the number of disciples attributed to each abbot of the Meihō-line monastery Daijōji (in *Daijō renpōshi*, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:577-94) both before and after the Sōtō school forbad the practice of switching lineages in 1704. The seventeen successive Daijōji abbots before the 1704 reform are credited with having produced a total of only nineteen disciples. Yet the next seventeen successive Daijōji abbots produced 404 disciples.

[104]Kuriyama, *Gakuzan shiron*, 270-76; and *Sōjijishi*, 331-32.

[105]Many later biographies mention this practice. As early as the fifteenth century it was described as being commonplace. See Kindō Ryōkiku, *Gessen Ryōin Zenji gyōjōki*, in *ZSZ*, 10, *Shiden*, 537.

there exist two separate Sōtō temples named Kinryūji, each claiming to represent a relocated version of the same original temple even though traditions at the two relocated temples disagree as to when (1417 or 1456) and by whom the original Kinryūji had been founded.[106] Likewise, the first six abbots in one history of Hodaji (supposedly founded in 1401) actually represent the dharma lineage of the monk who revived (i.e., founded) Hodaji in the early sixteenth century.[107]

The major monasteries within each faction owed much of their economic security to their ability to motivate lower-ranked monasteries to sponsor new monks to their abbotships. In order to attract abbotship candidates, the directives of factional leaders repeatedly stressed that each new Zen teacher must pay back his debt of gratitude to the founder of his lineage by contributing to the economic success of that founder's monastery. Tsūgen, Baisan, and Jochū each demanded that future generations excommunicate any Zen teacher who failed to fulfill his obligation to serve as abbot.[108] Baisan decreed that the obedient Zen teachers should seize defiant ones and then burn the offender's succession certificate before his eyes.[109] Loss of his succession certificate would deprived a Zen monk of his ability to found his own monastery or to teach his own disciples. However, as the numbers of

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[106]Yamamoto, "Chihō bushidan no Sōtōshū juyō," 253-62.

[107]Kōchi Eigaku, "Sōtōshū zensho shijō shozō Jōshū Daisensan Hodaji zoku denki ni tsuite," *SZ*, 7 (1965): 30-34.

[108]See, for example, *Jōseki monto renbanjō*, in *Komonjo*, 1:57-58; *Tsūgen oshō yuikai kibun* (1391:2:28), rpt. in *Tsūgen oshō tan'enshi*, in *ZSZ*, 10, *Shiden*, 526; Baisan Monpon [and Ryōdō Shinkaku], *Butsudaji miraisai no okibumi no anmon*, rpt. in Hirose, "Shigaken Tōjuin monjo," 161-62; *Tengin yuikai*, in *Komonjo*, 2:312-14.

[109]*Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi*, in *Komonjo*, no. 1886, 2:742.

monasteries that practiced alternating abbotship succession increased, the economic demands of repeated abbotship threatened to exceed the means of many monks and their patrons. As mentioned earlier, Baisan's directive at Ryūtakuji specifically exempted poorer monks from the requirement to serve as abbot at Sōjiji. Jochū's directive explained that all the lineages that promote abbots to Ryūtakuji should jointly sponsor only the most outstanding monks from among themselves to Sōjiji.[110] Because of these exemptions, major monasteries could not be assured of a steady supply of new abbots.

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[110] *Tengin yuikai*, in *Komonjo*, 2:313.

FIGURE 7

MAJOR FACTIONS WITHIN MEDIEVAL JAPANESE SŌTŌ

Generation: 1	2	3	4	5	Well-Known Descendant
Dōgen	Senne *Yōkōan*	Kyōgō			
	Ejō	Jakuen *Eiheiji*			. . . . . . Kenzei
		Giin *Daijiji*	Tetsuzan Shian		. . . . Kazō Gidon Fusaiji
			[Kangan Line]		
			Ninnō Jōki		. . . Suzuki Shōsan
		Gikai	Keizan Jōkin	Meihō Sotetsu *Daijōji*	. . Manzan Dōhaku
				Gasan Jōseki *Sōjiji*	*(continued below:)*

Generation: 5	6	Well-Known Descendant
Gasan Jōseki *Sōjiji*	Gennō Shinshō	
	Mugai Enshō	*(continued below:)*
	Gessen Ryōin *Shōbōji* [Mutei Line]	. . . Jōzan Ryōkō
	Taigen Sōshin	*(continued below:)*
	Tsūgen Jakurei *Yōtakuji*	*(continued below:)*

(see next page)

Figure 7. Major Factions Within Medieval Japanese Sōtō (continued)

Generation: 6	7	8	Well-Known Descendant
Mugai Enshō	Mujaku Myōyū		. . . Dokuan Genkō
Taigen Sōshin	Ryōdō Shinkaku		. . . . . . Bonsei
	Baisan Monpon *Ryūtakuji*	Ketsudō Nōshō	. . . Menzan Zuihō
		Jochū Tengin *Daitōin*	. . . Tenkei Denson
Tsūgen Jakurei *Yōtakuji*	Fusai Zenkyū *Zenrinji*		
	Tenshin Jishō		. . . Shigetsu Ein
	Sekioku Shinryō *Fukushōji*		. . . . Kishin Iban
	Ryōan Emyō *Saijōji*	Mugoku Etetsu *Ryūonji*	. . . . . Don'ei Eō
		Daikō Myōshū *Sōneiji*	. . . Kikuin Zuitan

In general, the factions have been ordered in terms of overall size, with the larger ones placed lower on the page. The monasteries most strongly associated with each faction are indicated in *italic* beneath the name of the monk associated with the founding of that faction (not necessarily the founder of the monastery). When more than one "well-known descendant" deserved mention, precedence was given to monks whose actions or writings are mentioned in this dissertation. In 1760 the Sōtō school claimed ninety-eight official factions, of which fifty-five were affiliated with either the Jochū or Ryōan lines. Together these two lines claim the allegiance of approximately ninety percent of Sōtō temples.

To compete for abbotship candidates, major Sōtō monasteries also would emphasize the religious honors and religious authority that they could confer upon their abbots and former abbots. The main monasteries in each faction, therefore, would petition secular authorities for the right to award abbots special colored robes (which indicate high ecclesiastical rank) or special titles. In order to further augment their religious authority, monasteries would horde texts

and secret initiation documents (*kirikami*) that would be available only to their own abbots. Between 1501 and 1515, Shōbōji (the head monastery of the Mutei faction) actively acquired copies of Dōgen and Keizan's works (including the *Shōbō genzō*) in an effort to increase Shōbōji's prestige.[111] As a result of the hording of secret texts, Sōtō Zen teachers who served as abbots at several major monasteries within their faction would be able to claim greater knowledge of Zen teachings and ritual practices than could Zen teachers of lesser experience. This concentration of texts at major monasteries helped to produce fairly uniform teachings and practices within each faction, because most Sōtō teachers within any one faction would have served terms at the same main monasteries.

The secrecy that major monasteries imposed on the texts in their possession naturally restricted the ability of Sōtō teachers to use these texts as the basis of their lectures. In practical terms, a Sōtō monastery could maintain exclusive possession of a text only if that text had never been published and been written by a Japanese Sōtō patriarch. Therefore, by the late medieval period only Chinese texts normally would be used for monastic lectures, while the writings of Japanese Sōtō patriarchs would be used only for secret, private instructions. In other words, the secrecy that major monasteries applied to the writing of Japanese Sōtō teachers meant that these writings were accessible only to senior monks. The average, low-ranking

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[111]See Juun Ryōchin, "Preface" (1509), *Shōbō shingi*, fasc. 1, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 45; and "Shōbōji Shōbō genzō no yūrai" (1512), in *Shōbō genzō*, Shōbōji Ms., in *SBGZST*, 1:452; as well as Etō Sokuō, *Shōbō genzō josetsu* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1959), 32-35; and Matsuda, "Keizan Zenji no jinmiraisai okibumi," 132-33.

Sōtō monks would be cut off from any access to the writings and teachings of their own Japanese patriarchs.

Changes in attitudes toward Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* amply illustrate this process. Dōgen seems to have lectured on his *Shōbō genzō* quite openly, even lecturing at the Rokuharamitsuji--a Tendai temple in Kyoto. At first this openness towards Dōgen's writings continued within the early Sōtō school. Meihō Sotetsu, for instance, directed his disciples to always lecture on Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* as a means of expressing their religicus gratitude to Dōgen.[112] By the time of Tsūgen's death in 1391, however, one can already detect the beginnings of restricted access. Tsūgen had possessed a large number of Zen texts, including several copies of the *Shōbō genzō*, as well as Japanese writings by Keizan and Gasan, and the Chinese *goroku* of Rujing and Hongzhi Zhengjue. Many of these texts (including individual *Shōbō genzō* chapters) were distributed among his disciples, but the writings of Rujing, Hongzhi, Keizan and the best copy of the *Shōbō genzō* (which had been kept in a lacquered-wood box) were deposited at Yōtakuji where they became secret treasures.[113] During the career of Nan'ei Kenshū (1386-1459), the transition from open distribution to secret transmission was complete. Nan'ei wrote that although his teacher (Ketsudō Nōshō; 1355-1427) easily had received a copy of one *Shōbō genzō* chapter in Dōgen's own handwriting from Hatano Motomasa, his teacher then (in 1424) ordered that this *Shōbō genzō* chapter must be kept secret

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112 *Sotetsu okibumi* (1346:5:24), in *Komonjo*, no. 693, 1:554.

113 *Tsūgen Jakurei Zenji sōki* (pub. 1698), ed. Baihō Jikushin, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 26-27.

and transmitted only as proof of dharma succession.[114] Finally by 1512 when Shōbōji's acquired its complete copy, Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* had become a symbol of religious authority. In the eyes of the monks at Shōbōji, the mystical powers of the sacred *Shōbō genzō* justified Shōbōji's claim to represent the correct transmission of the Sōtō school.[115]

Eiheiji and Sōjiji

Medieval Eiheiji never lost its religious authority despite the growing power of other monasteries. Even the disciples of Tsūgen Jakurei--the most partisan supporter of Sōjiji--had paid Eiheiji ten *kanmon* as part of Tsūgen's 1931 funeral service. They wanted special meals served at Eiheiji in honor of Tsūgen.[116] Throughout Tsūgen's lifetime, monks from outside lineages also had paid Eiheiji for the privilege of serving terms as honorary abbot at Eiheiji. These monks would gain the privilege of using the word "Eihei" as part of their official title without ever having exercised any administrative responsibilities at Eiheiji.[117] In the same way that Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* could lend authority to other monasteries, association with Dōgen's Eiheiji would grant these monks great prestige. The efforts of

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[114]Nan'ei Kenshū, *Ketsudō oshō gyōjō oyobi Kenshū oshō nenpu*, in *ZSZ*, 10, *Shiden*, 570b.

[115]Sakurai Shūyū, "Keizan Zenji monryū no kyōdan keisei: Kyōgakuteki shiten kara Oku no Shōbōji wo chūshin to shite" (1974), rpt. in *Dōgen Zenji to Sōtōshū*, ed. Kawamura Kōdō and Ishikawa Rikizan, 197-99.

[116]*Tsūgen Jakurei Zenji sōki*, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 30b.

[117]See chap. 3 (sec. on the Sandai Sōron). The following review of abbotship policies at Eiheiji and at Sōjiji is indebted to Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 379-501.

other Sōtō monasteries to secure a steady supply of new abbots, however, eventually forced Eiheiji to compete for more outside abbotship candidates.

In order to increase the allure of Eiheiji's abbotship, Eiheiji attained the right to have its abbots awarded the special ecclesiastical title of "Zen Teacher" (*Zenji*) by the imperial court.[118] The first known Sōtō recipient of this imperial title, Ekkei Rin'eki (d.1514), was named Shinkō Shōzoku Zenji (literally, "Zen Teacher Who Reinvigorates the Legitimate Tradition") in 1503 expressly for his mastery of Dōgen's teachings.[119] The reference to Dōgen, however, represents a ceremonious reference to Eiheiji, Dōgen's monastery. Significantly Ekkei was a Tsūgen-line monk. In 1507 the court also officially recognized Eiheiji as the head temple of the Sōtō school, thereby granting its abbots the right to receive an imperial purple robe.[120] Prior to this, the imperial title of Zen Teacher and the purple robe had been available only to Rinzai monks. Therefore, the Sōtō leaders in Gasan's line immediately took advantage of these new honors offered by Eiheiji. A memorial eulogy for Ikka Bun'ei (1425-1509), for example, states that just before his death Ikka served a term at Eiheiji in order to attain the imperial purple robe.[121]

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[118]*Nobutane kyōki*, entry for 1507:11:23, in *Zōho shiryō taisei*, 45:218b; as well as Imaeda Aishin, "Chūsei Zenrin ni okeru jūji seido no sho mondai," in *Chūsei Zenshūshi no kenkyū*, 395; and Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 384-86.

[119]*Shoshū chokugōki*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 14:428b.

[120]*Nobutane kyōki*, entries for 1507:11:23, 1507:12:16, in *Zōho shiryō taisei*, 45:218b, 221b.

[121]Kikuin Zuitan, *Kikuin oshō agyo*, eulogy dated 1514:9:6, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:558b.

Eiheiji established new regulations governing its abbotship in 1509 in order to administer these honors properly. The practice of awarding abbotships in absentia (*inari*) found at some Japanese Rinzai monasteries was forbidden. Honorary abbots must be physically present at Eiheiji, except for the very elderly who were allowed to send a representative. Abbotship inauguration fees also would be required, but this income could only be used for the construction and repair of Eiheiji's buildings.[122] These regulations mark the point at which clear, explicit distinctions began to be drawn between the Jakuen-line abbots who actually managed Eiheiji's affairs and the honorary abbots from other lineages who performed only a ceremonial inauguration (*zuise*). Eiheiji abbots from its own Jakuen lineage would not retire from office when other abbots were inaugurated, unlike other Sōtō monasteries that accepted abbotship succession from alternating lineages.[123] This is an important point, since it allowed monastic affairs to continue on a regular basis without the disruptions that a change in abbots would bring. At Sōjiji, in contrast, the lack of any long-term abbot effectively prevented the monastery from functioning as a center for Zen training, because the three-month training sessions could not be conducted.[124]

The 1509 abbotship regulations seem to have remained in force until the Tokugawa period. This is indicated by a 1592 missive

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[122]*Eiheiji sadame* (1509:4), rpt. in Hirose Ryōkō, "Chūsei kōki no Eiheiji jiryō to kihan," in *Ejō Zenji kenkyū*, ed. Kumagai Chūkō, 283-84. For an analysis of this document, see ibid., 284-87.

[123]Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 399.

[124]Tanrei Sochū (1624-1710) restored meditation sessions at the Sōjiji monks' hall in 1686. See Enzan Somei and Reiun Bonryū, *Taiyō kaisan Tanrei Zenji kinenroku* (1710), in *SZ*, 17, *Shiden*, 2:410-1.

distributed by Eiheiji that sought more outside abbotship candidates for the stated purpose of raising funds for "the construction and repair of Eiheiji's buildings"--the exact wording as used in the 1509 regulations.[125] In addition to the funds collected by Eiheiji as inauguration fees, each request for an imperial title or purple robe also would require additional collections in order to pay the proper government officials.[126] There is little doubt that for Sōtō teachers the economic benefits that would result from these honors would have more than justified their costs. Sōtō monks would have no difficulties attracting strong patronage with the prestige that a title from Eiheiji could bring. One Giin-line Sōtō monk proved so successful at attracting large numbers of new students (and new sponsors) following his term as an honorary abbot at Eiheiji that Tsūgen-line monasteries began to issue formal complaints in 1560 (see below).[127]

Little is known of the backgrounds of the Sōtō monks who were honorary abbots at Eiheiji. Unlike most other Sōtō monasteries, Eiheiji apparently never kept a register of abbots. A Tokugawa-period compendium of Sōtō biographies, the *Nippon Tōjō rentōroku* (1727), mentions only about forty-two monks from Gasan lineages as having been abbots at Eiheiji--out of more than 700 Sōtō monks. Yet original

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[125]Sakyū, *Eiheiji Sakyū shojō* (1592:2:18), in *Komonjo*, no. 1830, 2:701-2. Also see Hirose, "Chūsei kōki no Eiheiji jiryō to kihan," 285.

[126]These payments are not mentioned in early sources, but in 1581 Shibata Katsuie (1522-1583; Oda Nobunaga's representative in Echizen) reprimanded Eiheiji for failure to account for its payments to the government (*kumonsen*). See *Shibata Katsuie gechijō* (1581:9:7), in *Komonjo*, no. 15, 1:12; and Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 393-94.

[127]*Aizu Jigenji satasho* (ca. 1559-1560), rpt. in *Yūkishishi, 1: Kodai chūsei shiryōhen*, 107b; as well as Hirose Ryōkō, "Chihō hatten ni tomonau Sōtōshū monpa no taiō," *SG*, 24 (1982): 165; and "Gennōha no Eiheiji-Sōjiji shusse mondai to Kantō jiin no dōkō," 193, 215-6.

documents reveal that a great many more monks than noted in these biographies had used the honorary title "Former Abbot of Eiheiji." Thirty one of the forty-two monks noted in the *Rentōroku* predate the Tokugawa period, and the second earliest of them is known to have died in 1487. Twenty of these thirty-one monks were of the Tsūgen line, ten were of the Baisan line, and one was of unknown lineage.[128] In addition to the senior monks who became honorary abbots, exchanges between lower-level monks in Eiheiji's Jakuen line and in other lineages seem to have been fairly common. In 1520, for example, Kikuin Zuitan (1447-1524) composed a new Buddhist name for a Tsūgen line monk who previously had been the chief cook at Eiheiji.[129] Likewise, a 1528 entry in Sōjiji's register of abbots (*jūsanki*) includes a Tsūgen-line abbot at Sōjiji who originally had been the disciple of the Eiheiji abbot Kenzei.[130]

In response to Eiheiji's new status, Sōjiji also increased its efforts to attract new abbots. During 1509--just two years after Eiheiji had won purple-robe status--Sōjiji inaugurated twenty-two new abbots. Prior to this time, Sōjiji had enrolled only about four or five new abbots per year. Yet for the ten-year period between 1510 and 1529, Sōjiji enrolled 231 new abbots.[131] This dramatic increase in annual enrollments indicates the beginning of a campaign to actively recruit new abbots for Sōjiji. By 1510 Sōjiji already had petitioned the court for the right of Sōjiji abbots to receive the purple robe. In Sōjiji's

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128Hirose Ryōkō, "Eiheiji jūji seido ni kansuru ichi kōsatsu: Shusse-Zuise no mondai wo chūshin ni," *SG*, 21 (1979): 127-28; and "Eiheiji no suiun," 432-35.

129*Kikuin oshō agyo*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:539b.

130Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 1:458.

131Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 456-57.

case, however, the court refused authorization.[132] Undeterred by the court's rejection, Sōjiji seems to have openly challenged the legitimacy of Eiheiji's imperial recognition. To defend itself Eiheiji produced an imperial edict in 1539, which not only reconfirmed Eiheiji's status but also backdated it by more than 150 years.[133] Sōjiji responded four months later with its own imperial edict, which forbad Sōjiji-affiliated monks from going to Eiheiji in order to obtain either purple or yellow robes and which ordered Eiheiji to return its now invalidated 1539 edict.[134] The full details of this conflict over abbotship titles are unclear, but these contradictory edicts probably represent only one tactic. The conflict was pursued strongly enough to force even some Rinzai monasteries to take sides. In 1550 the Rinzai monk Taigen Sūfu, who had received an imperial purple robe at Nanzenji earlier that same year, wrote that any Sōtō monks with purple robes should be afforded

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[132]*Nobutane kyōki*, entry for 1511:1:16, in *Zōho shiryō taisei*, 45:238a; and Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 1:387. The *Nobutane kyōki*, an impartial source, is considered to be more reliable than the texts of imperial edicts in the possession of the monasteries themselves. Sōjiji possesses a document which purports to be a 1322 edict from Emperor Godaigo (*Komonjo*, no. 1966, 3:2) that authorized imperial purple robe status for Sōjiji, yet this document is widely regarded as a forgery. Moreover, even authentic edicts can contain questionable content since the stated reasons for the proclamation usually are based on the (often self-serving) claims of the monastery or person who had petitioned to receive the edict.

[133]*Gonara tennō rinshi* (1539:10:7), Eiheiji DS, in *Komonjo*, no. 11, 1:9. The document states that it reconfirms an edict, originally sent to Eiheiji during the Ōan era (ca.1368-1375), that had been lost in a fire of 1473. Although this edict generally is considered authentic, its reference to the Ōan era probably resulted from misinformation supplied by Eiheiji.

[134]*Gonara tennō rinjisha* (1540:2:27), Sōjiji D, in *Komonjo*, no. 2002, 3:22. Needless to say, the authenticity of this edict is very doubtful.

full honors only if their robe had been obtained at Sōjiji.[135]

The factions that sponsored new abbotship candidates to Eiheiji and Sōjiji also exerted influence over the abbotship policies of both monasteries. Monasteries affiliated with the Ryōan branch of the Tsūgen faction, in particular, were able to use the economic power represented by their abbotship candidates not only to pressure Eiheiji and Sōjiji but also to prevent the rival Gennō faction from having access to these monasteries. The Ryōan and Gennō factions both were centered around the same geographic region of eastern Japan. Although the Gennō monasteries had been established earlier, the Ryōan faction had been more aggressive in founding branch temples. When the Gennō-line monastery Annonji (in modern Ibaraki Pref.) prepared to sponsor one of its monks to Eiheiji's abbotship in 1528, leaders of the nearby Ryōan-line monasteries felt vulnerable. In response, the Ryōan-line monks organized a letter-writing campaign among the monasteries within their faction and presented Eiheiji with all the collected letters. The Ryōan-line monasteries threatened to stop sponsoring their own abbotship candidates if Eiheiji were to accept a Gennō-line candidate.[136] Eiheiji promptly assented to the Ryōan-line ultimatum, thereby demonstrating just how crucial abbotship candidates from the Ryōan-line monasteries were for Eiheiji's economy.[137]

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[135]*Taigen Sūfu oboegakisha*, copy of Ms. dated 1550:12:1, rpt. in *Shizuokaken shiryō*, 3, as cited by Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 389.

[136]*Annonji satasho*, rpt. in *Yūkishishi, 1: Kodai chūsei shiryōhen* (1977): 80-82, 84, 90a; and Hirose, "Gennōha no Eiheiji-Sōjiji shusse mondai to Kantō jiin no dōkō," 181-83, 186. According to the last missive in the *Annonji satasho*, the Ryōan-line monasteries had learned of Annonji's plans when the monks at Annonji began soliciting funds with authorization letter from Eiheiji dated 1528:11:17.

[137]See Hirose, "Kanganpa no Eiheiji shusse mondai," 84-85.

In 1558 two Gennō-line monks became abbots at Sōjiji. Interestingly, both monks were inaugurated on the same day--indicating that Sōjiji's abbotship had become purely a ceremonial title. The same Ryōan-line monasteries again organized a letter-writing campaign to threaten Sōjiji with a similar withdrawal of support.[138] In Sōjiji's case, however, the threats of the Ryōan faction carried less weight since many other factions also contributed to Sōjiji's economy. We know that other Gennō-line monks became abbots at Sōjiji in 1562, 1568, and 1574.[139] These two letter-writing campaigns (one successful and one not) demonstrate how medieval Sōtō factions were able to use the office of abbotship and its accompanying honors to promote their own faction while restricting smaller factions.

The 1570s mark the beginning of the end of medieval Sōtō and the end of this chapter. Two important developments of this period would permanently alter the shape of the Japanese Sōtō order, namely, the fierce warfare in northeastern (i.e., Hokuriku) Japan and the religious policies of the *sengoku daimyō.* It is difficult to gauge the full extent of the damage suffered by the Sōtō monasteries in northeastern Japan during the 1570s. Oda Nobunaga's defeat of the Asakura family in 1570 entailed the destruction of most of the the monasteries in Echizen affiliated with the Tenshin branch of the Baisan faction, which had been sponsored by the Asakura. In 1574, members of one *Ikkō ikki* are known to have attacked many major monasteries in the

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[138]*Aizu Jigenji satasho*, rpt. in *Yūkishishi, 1: Kodai chūsei shiryōhen*, 91-109; and Hirose, "Gennōha no Eiheiji-Sōjiji shusse mondai to Kantō jiin no dōkō," 188-213.

[139]Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 450.

area.[140] During Oda's campaign against the *ikki* the following year, Baisan's Ryūtaiji suffered total destruction in fires because the rebel forces had used Ryūtakuji as a staging ground.[141] In either 1574 or 1575 (or both?), Eiheiji also was totally reduced to ashes. In 1566 Butsudaji (the other major Baisan-line monastery) had sent its treasures to Sōjiji for safe keeping. This was the last documented proof of Butsudaji's existence.[142] In the three provinces of Kaga, Noto and Etchū, at least ten Gasan-line monasteries and twenty-three Meihō-line monasteries are known to have disappeared.[143] The destruction delivered blows to the Baisan and Meihō factions from which they never fully recovered and also foreshadowed the ascension of the Sōtō monasteries in eastern Japan (i.e., the Kantō) during the Tokugawa period.[144] Significantly, Oda concluded his successful attack on the *ikki* by issuing a brief set of regulations to Eiheiji.[145] Although the regulations were not notable of themselves, they foreshadowed the more stringent regulations yet to come. During the Tokugawa period, monastic policies would be decided by government agencies rather than by individual abbots.

The 1570s also saw the full development of Sōtō Zen doctrine and practice. By this point, the Sōtō school not only had become one of

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[140]Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 464-71.

[141]*Ryūtakuji saiken kangechōsha* (1581:3:7), in *Komonjo*, no. 1920, 2:769; and Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 471, 476.

[142]Hirose, "Zenshū un'ei to rinjūsei," 291.

[143]Kuriyama, *Gakuzan shiron*, 165-66.

[144]Hirose, "Eiheiji no suiun," 464-71.

[145]*Oda Nobunaga kingo* (1575:9), in *Komonjo*, no. 13, 1:11-12.

the largest religious institutions in Japan but also had developed uniquely Japanese forms of Zen belief. Above we have seen how Sōtō monks reinterpreted the Zen emphasis on lineage to create new methods of temple organization based on abbotship succession. This transformation of Zen lineages represents only one example of how traditional Zen concepts assumed new meanings within the context of medieval Japanese culture. Below we will shift our attention away from external institutional concerns in order to examine the internal dynamics of medieval Sōtō Zen thought and practice. The rapid regional expansion of Sōtō temple networks and the quick pace of abbotship succession at major monasteries required a steady supply of trained Zen masters. Our analysis will begin, therefore, with the methods of Zen education and *kōan* training that produced the leaders of medieval Sōtō. These Sōtō leaders used the paradoxes of *kōan* language as part of their efforts to popularize Buddhist ordinations for laymen and to create new religious meanings for Zen funerals. These latter two topics, therefore, will illustrate how the monastic forms of Sōtō Zen extended beyond the walls of medieval monasteries into the daily lives of the common people.

CHAPTER 6

KŌAN ZEN

Modern Sōtō scholars often draw a distinction often between the *kosoku kōan* associated with the Rinzai tradition and the *genjō kōan* associated with the Sōtō tradition. Although these two terms each have well established histories, only in recent times have scholars begun to use them as two opposing categories in order to distinguish Dōgen's conception of the *kōan* from that taught in Rinzai monasteries. *"Kōan"* (Ch. *"gong'an"*), a term already widely used in western accounts of Zen practice, commonly refers to the actions, sayings or questions made famous by past Zen masters, either in terms of the actual incidents or in terms of the truth revealed thereby. The Chinese Linji master Zhongfeng Mingben (Jpn. Chūhō Myōhon; 1263-1323) placed emphasis upon the incidents themselves. According to Zhongfeng, *kōan* are historical precedents that serve as models to guide students in the same manner that a government agency or "public bureau" (Ch. *gongfu*) is guided by its lists of "items to investigate" (Ch. *andu*).[1] Zhongfeng's definition has been widely accepted in Chinese Chan and in the Japanese Rinzai

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[1]*Shanfang yehua* (Jpn. *Sanbō yawa*), pt. 1,, in *Tianmu Zhongfeng heshang guanglu* (Jpn. *Tenmoku Chūhō oshō kōroku*), fasc. 11A, in *Dai Nihon kōtei zōkyō* [a.k.a. the *Manji* edn.] (Kyoto: Zōkyō Shoin, 1902-5), 31.7.606a-b. Mingben's description of *kōan* (*gong'an*) has been translated at length by Ruth Fuller Sasaki, "The History of The Koan in Rinzai (Lin-chi) Zen," in *Zen Dust* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966), 4-7. Regarding Zhongfeng, see Satō Shūkō, "Gen no Chūhō Myōhon ni tsuite," *SG*, 23 (1981): 231-36.

tradition.[2] Scholars preface *"kosoku"* (Ch. *"guze"*; old example) a term synonymous with *kōan* according to Zhongfeng's definition, to *"kōan"* in order to clearly indicate that the Rinzai interpretation is implied. More specifically, *"kosoku kōan"* refers to Zen stories that are used as objects of meditation in a systematic sequence for the purpose of guiding students through a series of ever deeper enlightenment experiences.

In contrast to Zhongfeng, Dōgen's disciple Senne placed emphasis upon the truth embodied within these Zen stories. According to Senne, *kōan* means truth or Buddhism (i.e., *shōbō genzō*) itself, while *"genjō"* (Ch. *"xiancheng"*; presently complete) merely restates the meaning of *"kōan."* In other words, every presently complete reality (*genjō*) is truth (*kōan*) and every truth is presently complete.[3] Modern interpreters of Dōgen Zen usually understand this rather awkward expression to mean that all phenomena are themselves *kōan*, or complete in their embodiment of truth (*shinri*).[4] In Dōgen Zen, this truth is not an object of meditation--a goal to be achieved--but rather a living reality expressed by the practice of meditation itself. Thus, the Rinzai technique of using *kōan* to seek enlightenment experiences is denied.

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[2]For example, see *Chanlin baoxun yinyi* (Jpn. *Zenrin hōkun ongi*; 1635), s.v. *"gong'an,"* in *ZZK*, 2:18:132d; or Mujaku Dōchū, *Zenrin shōkisen* (1741), chap. 20, "Gengomon," s.v. *"kōan,"* (rpt., Tokyo: Seishin Shobō, 1963), 599b-601a.

[3]*Shōbō genzōshō*, fasc. 1, "Genjō kōan" chap., in *SBGZST*, 11:6-10, 312.

[4]Kagamishima Genryū, "Dōgen no shisō," in *Dōgen no shōgai to shisō*, Kōza Dōgen, 1:13; and Kurebayashi, *Dōgen Zen no honryū*, 183-85.

Historically the distinction between so-called *kosoku kōan* and *genjō kōan* is much more elusive. Furuta Shōkin has demonstrated that the term *"gong'an"* encompassed both concepts in early Chinese Chan literature.[5] As pointed out by Furuta, *"gong'an"* forms part of the compound expression *"xiancheng gong'an"* in its earliest citation within the *Jinde chuandenglu* (i.e., the Chan history favored by Dōgen). Although the *Jinde chuandenglu* cannot be relied upon for historical accuracy, this citation assumes great significance for understanding the intellectual context of Dōgen's interpretation of *kōan*. In the Chinese Chan texts studied by Dōgen no clear difference between the *kosoku-kōan* approach and the *genjō-kōan* approach can be discerned as late as the Song dynasty. Furuta found similar expositions of *"gong'an"* in the writings of both Hongzhi Zhengjue and Dahui Zonggao (Jpn. Daie Sōkō; 1089-1163), the well-known Caodong and Linji masters who are regarded as the prime representatives of the two main opposing trends of Song-dynasty Chan, namely, Silent-Reflection Chan and Gong'an-Introspection Chan. In Dōgen's teachings as well, elements now associated only with *kosoku kōan* are present. Likewise, *"genjō kōan"* appears in the writings of medieval Japanese Rinzai teachers, such as Musō Soseki.[6] The distinction between *kosoku kōan* and *genjō kōan*, therefore, can be misleading if applied too rigidly.

To a large extent, theoretical instruction in Zen (as opposed to the practical instruction of monastic life and meditation) is

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[5]See his "Genjō kōan no igi" (1957); rpt. in *Nihon Bukkyō shisōshi*, Furuta Shōkin Chosakushū, 1:449-56; and "Kōan no rekishiteki hatten keitai ni okeru shinrisei no mondai" (1956); rpt. in *Zenshū kenkyū*, Furuta Shōkin Chosakushū, 2:51-83. Furuta's research on *kōan* is summarized by Kim, *Dōgen Kigen--Mystical Realist*, 99-102.

[6]*Musō kokushi goroku*, fasc. 1, in *T*, 80:450b.

conducted through the language and vocabulary established by the early Chinese patriarchs. This specialized idiom allows Zen teachers and students to describe different approaches to practice, various states of meditation, and fine distinctions between points of view or levels of understanding. Dōgen's *goroku* (lectures and verse in Chinese) demonstrate his mastery of that idiom, while his *Shōbō genzō* (essays and commentary in Japanese) compose in many ways a textbook on how that specialized Zen vocabulary should be used to express the true meaning of Buddhism. That Buddhist truth can be termed *"genjō kōan,"* but the language used for its expression is that of the *kosoku kōan.* Even in the modern Sōtō school, textual study of the stereotyped sayings of the Chinese patriarchs (i.e., study of *kōan*) is necessary in order to understand how Dōgen comments upon *kōan* in his own writings. Therefore, there is no question that Dōgen taught *kōan.* Present Sōtō leaders, however, would assert that Dōgen had never taught *kōan* to be used as topics of meditation or as a means of directing practice toward a predetermined goal, such as enlightenment.[7]

Yet *kōan* instruction formed a major part of medieval Japanese Sōtō Zen training. Although this medieval Sōtō emphasis on *kōan* transmission now is seen as a major deviation from Dōgen's teachings, its roots can be detected within Dōgen's own writings. Moreover, medieval Japanese Sōtō techniques for mastering *kōan* share characteristics now associated not only with *kosoku kōan* but also with *genjō kōan.* Before examining *kōan* Zen in Dōgen's writings and in medieval Sōtō practice, however, we will first investigate the usages of *xiancheng gong'an* (Jpn. *genjō kōan*) in the Chinese sources available to

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[7]For example, Kurebayashi Kōdō, *Dōgen Zen no honryū,* 181.

Dōgen as well as the contradictory affirmations and rejections of *kosoku kōan* study found within Dōgen's teachings. Then, the medieval Sōtō tradition of *kōan* study will be analyzed in terms of its historical development and in content from its few remaining literary records.

Xiancheng Gong'an

The origin of the terms *"gon'an"* and *"xiancheng gong'an"* cannot be known with certainty from extant sources. The *Jinde chuandenglu* attributes the earliest use of these phrases to Daoming (Jpn. Dōmyō; d. ca.874-879).[8] Daoming's *"xiancheng gong'an"* statement became widely quoted by subsequent Chan teachers (including Dōgen). For this reason one must carefully distinguish between the meaning of the term in Daoming's original context, and its meaning as used in the writings of later teachers. Moreover, because written Chinese allows the reader to supply grammatical tense and conjunctions, the exact relationship between the words are open to a variety of interpretations. The *Jinde chuandenglu* recounts the following encounter:

> Upon seeing a monk approach, Daoming said: *'Xiancheng gong'an,* you are forgiven thirty blows of the staff.'
> Monk: 'I am like that.'
> Daoming: 'Why does the [statue of] the guardian in the temple gate have a raised fist?'
> Monk: 'The guardian also is like that.'
> Daoming struck the monk.

From this dialogue, three points seem clear. First, the meaning of *"xiancheng gong'an"* was as obvious to Daoming's student as was the posture of the guardian images in the temple gate. Either the term already had been well used, or had been referring to some concrete, obvious circumstance. Second, the term most likely was a verb-object

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[8]Fasc. 12; in *T.* 51:291b. Daoming appears under the name Chen Zunsu (Jpn. Chin Sonshuku).

compound being used as the first half of an "if-then" sentence (i.e., "If you can '*xiancheng*' the '*gong'an*,' then I will spare you from thirty blows of my staff"). In the end, the monk, evidently unsuccessful in his efforts, was struck anyway. Third, Daoming had used the word *"gong'an"* in reference to the present moment, not in order to cite a precedent established by a past teacher as explained by Zhongfeng.

Daoming's statement, however, subsequently did become one such precedent itself. It was widely quoted by later Chinese Chan teachers, beginning with Yunmen Wenyan (Jpn. Unmon Bun'en; 864-949),[9] Yuanwu Keqin (Jpn. Engo Gokugon; 1063-1135),[10] and Dahui Zonggao.[11] It appears in a slightly modified form in Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* as well.[12] Significantly, the first Chan master to have popularized the use of old quotations, Yenmen Wenyan, never referred to these sayings as *"gong'an."* Instead he termed his quotations "words" (*hua;* Jpn. *wa*) or "examples" (*ze;* Jpn. *soku*). Fenyang Shanzhao (Jpn. Fun'yō Zenshō; 947-1024) was the first Chan teacher to use *"gong'an"* as a generic term for all types of stereotyped sayings, well after the practice of teaching these sayings already had become widespread.[13]

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[9]*Yunmen Kuangzhen chanshi guanglu* (Jpn. *Unmon Kyōshin Zenji kōroku*), fasc. 1; in *T*, 47:547a.

[10]*Yuanwu Foguo Chanshi yulu* (Jpn. *Engo Bukka Zenji goroku*), fascs. 7, 8, 12, 13; in *T*, 47:744c, 750a, 770a, 772a.

[11]*Dahui Pujue Chanshi yulu* (Jpn. *Daie Fugaku Zenji goroku*), fascs. 5, 24; in *T*, 47:832a, 914a.

[12]*SBGZ*, "Muchū setsumu" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:241.

[13]*Fengyang Wude Chanshi yulu* (Jpn. *Fun'yō Mutoku Zenji goroku*), fasc. 3; in *T*, 47:613c, 615c. Also see Furuta, "Genjō kōan no igi"; and "Kōan no rekishiteki hatten."

At the same time that *"gong'an"* was evolving into a generic term for Zen sayings, *"xiancheng gong'an"* as a single compound term already was being used to teach Chan students. Yunmen Wenyan once replied to a student's question: *"Xiancheng gong'an* cannot be analyzed."[14] Xuedou Zhongxian (Jpn. Setchō Jūken; 980-1052) began a lecture with the words: "Even before leaving [your] mother's womb [there is] *xiancheng gong'an.*"[15] Wuzu Fayan (Jpn. Goso Hōen; d.1104) wrote a self-depreciating poem beginning with the lines: "Using appearances in order to grasp appearance produces only phantoms and delusions; using the true in order to seek the true [gives me] shifting points of view without ever getting close; *xiancheng gong'an* is the unconditioned, the indiscernible . . ."[16] And Yuanwu Keqin described *xiancheng gong'an* as "solitary, perfect and complete."[17]

In each of these quotes *"xiancheng gong'an"* refers to reality itself as experienced through Chan (Zen) enlightenment, just as defined by Senne. Yet there is no evidence of any conscious distinction between this everyday, experienced reality (*xiancheng gong'an*) and the activity of giving it expression with the stereotyped sayings handed down from teacher to disciple. Herein lies the paradox between Chan spontaneity and Chan conformity to tradition. Individual freedom and enlightenment must attain fruition through established forms. These quotations were used as expressions of Chan reality, not as rhetorical techniques for

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[14]*Yunmen Kuangzhen chanshi guanglu*, fasc. 3; in *T*, 47:570c.

[15]*Xuedou Mingjue Chanshi yulu* (Jpn. *Setchō Myōgaku Zenji goroku*), fasc. 2; in *T*, 47:676a.

[16]*Fayan Chanshi yulu* (Jpn. *Hōen Zenji goroku*), fasc. 3; in *T*, 47:666b.

[17]*Yuanwu Foguo Chanshi yulu*, fasc. 9; in *T*, 47:751c.

mental transformation. Like Fenyang, each of the above Chan teachers also frequently quoted and commented upon the sayings of their predecessors. Although Yunmen Wenyan had not referred to these sayings as *"gong'an"* or *"xiancheng gong'an,"* Wuzu Fayan and his disciple Yuanwu Keqin did.

Yuanwu Keqin's writings and lectures present old precedents (i.e., so-called *"kosoku kōan"*) as every-day enlightened reality. Both are referred to as *"xiancheng gong'an."* The stereotyped sayings of past Chan masters were, for Yuanwu Keqin, meaningful only if actualized in each moment.[18] The great importance Keqin placed upon *xiancheng gong'an* is indicated by the fact the term occurs at least seventeen times in his *goroku*. This is several times the number found in the *goroku* of any other Chan master, including Dōgen's ten-chapter *goroku* (only four times).[19] Yet Keqin is also known as one of the great systematizers of *gong'an* study. His commentary on one hundred "old examples" (*guze*) formed the basis of the *Biyanlu* (Jpn. *Hekiganroku;* Blue Cliff Records)--one of the foremost manuals for systematic *gong'an* meditation. In the

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[18]Furuta, "Genjō kōan no igi," 453-56; and "Kōan no rekishiteki hatten," 63-69.

[19]The *Yuanwu Foguo Chanshi yulu* mentions *xiancheng gong'an* three times in fasc. 3 (in *T*, 47:723c, 724b, 726b), twice each in fascs. 6 (739b, c), 9 (751c, 754c), 12 (769a, 770a), and once each in fascs. 4 (732b), 5 (734b), 7 (744c), 8 (750a) 11 (764a), 13 (772a), 16 (790c) and 20 (810a). Dōgen's *Kōroku* mentions the term three times in sec. 1 (lecs. 60, 79, 101; in *DZZ*, 2:20, 23, 26), and once in sec. 8 (*Fukan zazengi;* 2:165). In contrast, the term occurs only five times in the *Huangzhi Chanshi guanlu* (fascs. 1, 3, 5, 8; in *T*, 48:9b, 16c, 33a, 67a, 93a)], and not at all in the *Rujinglu*. In Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* the term plays a much larger role. In various forms, it appears twenty-one times in all, in thirteen chapters: "Shoaku makusa" (in *DZZ*, 1:280-81), "Genjō kōan" (1:10), "Zazenshin" (1:91, 93), "Sanjūshichi bodai bunpō" (1:511, 518), "Dai shugyō" (1:544, 547), "Kuge" (1:110), "Uji" (1:194), "Juki" (1:198), "Muchū setsumu" (1:241), "Sansuigyo" (1:269), "Kattō" (1:334), "Mitsugo" (1:392), and "Ango" (1:568).

Biyanlu as well, Keqin repeatedly refers to the old examples as *xiancheng gong'an*. For example, he challenges the reader in his introduction to Example Fifty-One: ". . . if you still do not comprehend, then merely come to terms with [i.e., understand] this *xiancheng gong'an*."[20] The word "this" (Ch. *ge*) clearly reveals that the *xiancheng gong'an* being referred to is not reality as a whole, but just one single topic (example) for contemplation.[21]

Yuanwu Keqin's use of the term *"xiancheng"* to refer to the stereotyped examples in the *Biyanlu* is particularly significant because of the importance of Yuanwu Keqin in Dōgen's writings. Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* contains Chinese-language passages that could have been based only upon Yuanwu's *Biyanlu*. The entire "Zenki" (Full Actualization) chapter of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* is devoted to commenting upon just one of Yuanwu Keqin's comments.[22] In fact, Keqin is one of the most quoted Chan patriarchs in Dōgen's writings.[23] Moreover, Yuanwu Keqin probably is the source from which Dōgen derived his own use of the term *"xiancheng gong'an"* (*"genjō kōan"*). This inference is based on the fact that the term occurs seventeen times in Yuanwu Keqin's *goroku*, but not once in

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[20]*Foguo Yuanwu Chanshi biyanlu* (Jpn. *Bukka Engo Zenji hekiganroku*), fasc. 6, example (*ze*) 51; in *T*, 48:185c. The term *"xiancheng gong'an"* occurs at least five times in Yuanwu keqin's *Biyanlu*. In addition to example 51 cited above, it also is found in examples 10 (fasc. 1; in *T*, 48:150b), 21 (3; 163b), 32 (4; 171b), and 63 (7; 195a).

[21]In this context, there is justification for Yanagida Seizan's translation of *xiancheng gong'an* as "ready-made *kōan*." See his "'Shōbō genzō' to kōan," *KBRS*, 9 (1978): 28.

[22]Compare *DZZ*, 1:203-5 and *Yuanwu Foguo Chanshi yulu*, fasc. 17; in *T*, 47:793c.

[23]Yuanwu ranks in the top ten. See Kagamishima Genryū, *Dōgen Zenji to in'yō kyōten*, 230-60.

the sayings of Rujing, Dōgen's teacher. Dōgen's admiration of Keqin is demonstrated by the praise Dōgen lavished on him (e.g., ". . . there has been no teacher as worthy since Ōbaku Kiun").[24] If Yuanwu Keqin's teachings combined both *xiancheng gong'an* and the old-example *gong'an* of the *Biyanlu*, then could Dōgen have done likewise? There exists a manuscript copy of one portion of the *Biyanlu* in Ejō's handwriting.[25] This evidence suggests that the *Biyanlu* had been well studied not only by Dōgen, but also by his disciples. Their familiarity with the *Biyanlu* raises the possibility that even if Dōgen's conception of *genjō kōan* had excluded the use of any predetermined problems for meditation, still his disciples might have confused Dōgen's position with that of Keqin. The contradictory statements on *kōan* use found in Dōgen's writings would have compounded their confusion.

Dōgen

We will begin with Dōgen's statements critical of *kōan* contemplation. Dōgen usually disparaged the usefulness and goals of *kōan* training when emphasizing Zen meditation (*zazen* or *shikan taza*) for its own sake as the sole method and meaning of Zen. Dōgen's criticisms stand in direct opposition to those who would identify the goal of Zen practice with realizing enlightenment (*satori, go*) by directly perceiving true reality (*kenshō*). Dahui Zonggao, the great advocate of *kōan* contemplation, especially had stressed the importance of this enlightenment experience: "To escape the cycle of transmigration, one first must perceive reality (*kenshō*); to perceive reality, one must sit

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[24]*SBGZ*, "Jishō zanmai" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:558.

[25]*Hekiganshū dankan*, in *Shiryōshū*, *SBGZST*, 26:703-5.

in meditation (*zazen*)."[26] In Dahui's statement, we can detect a disregard of Zen meditation. Ultimately, it is only a means toward a more important end (i.e., *kenshō*). Dōgen asserted the exact opposite position; he rejected the importance of *kenshō:*

> The summation of Buddhism is not *kenshō*. Not one of the seven Buddhas or the twenty-eight Indian patriarchs ever taught that Buddhism was merely *kenshō*. The *Rokuso dankyō* [Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch] contains the word *'kenshō,'* but this text is a forgery. It is not a book of the Dharma treasure. It is not the words of Sōkei [Ch. Caoxi].[27]

Dōgen taught meditation as a complete expression of enlightened activity. Therefore, any techniques of *kōan* contemplation (*kanna*) applied while sitting necessarily prevent true meditation from occurring. *Genjō kōan* would be the natural experience of Zen meditation, but *kōan* contemplation would be an artificial barrier separating one from the simple act of meditation itself. Indeed, the practice of *kōan* contemplation and the experience of *kenshō* are not restricted to sitting meditation but can occur during any activity. For this reason, Dōgen also attacked *kōan* Zen for failing to realize the importance of meditation.

He began one lecture with the assertion that: "The meaning transmitted by the Buddhas and patriarchs, the doctrine that lies outside the realm of words, is not found in the *kōan* of past masters." Dōgen continued with a lengthy exposition on the importance of Zen meditation, subsequently asserting:

> Other [sects] have heard of this term, but [their meditation] is not the same as the Zen meditation (*zazen*) of the Buddhas and

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[26]Dahui Zonggao, *Zuochanyi* (Jpn. *Zazengi*), as cited by Ishii Shūdō, "Daie Sōkō to sono deshi," pt. 5, *IBK*, 22:1 (Dec. 1973), 292. For a detailed summary of Dahui Zonggao's teachings, vis-à-vis Dōgen, see Ishii, "Sōdai Zenshūshi yori mitaru Dōgen Zen," 77-82.

[27]*SBGZ*, "Shizen biku" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:708.

> patriarchs. Why is this? Because Zen meditation in other sects is based upon waiting for enlightenment (*taigo*). [They] compare it to the parable of temporarily using a boat to cross the sea. [They] would say, 'Once across, throw away the boat.' Our Zen meditation [as taught by] the Buddhas and patriarchs is not like that.[28]

If the goal of Zen lies in *kenshō*, then meditation practice would be reduced to nothing more than waiting for that enlightenment experience to occur. Ejō heard Dōgen argue in even stronger terms for the primacy of Zen meditation over any artificial attempt to induce an experience of enlightenment:

> Dōgen: 'In the study of the Way, most important of all is Zen meditation. This is number one. In China, the numerous people who have attained the Way all did so through the strength of their Zen meditation. Even a stupid person of no talent who cannot read a single letter, upon devoting himself to Zen meditation will come to surpass a bright student of advanced learning. Therefore, a student must merely sit (*shikan taza*) without concern for other matters. The Way of the Buddhas and patriarchs is simply Zen meditation. Follow no other method.'
>
> Ejō: 'When sitting in meditation and *kōan* contemplation are studied together, while reading *goroku* or *kōan* I sometimes feel that I understand a little. Yet in Zen meditation [alone] there is nothing like that. Are we, then, still to prefer the practice of Zen meditation?'
>
> Dōgen: 'In contemplating *kōan* or a word (*watō*),[29] you might realize some insight, but it will be far removed from the Way of the Buddhas and patriarchs. To pass time in total sitting without anything to attain, without anything to enlighten is the Way of the patriarchs. Although these ancients taught both *kōan* and simple sitting (*shikan taza*), it was sitting that they taught exclusively. And although some people attain enlightenment (*satori*) by means of a word (*watō*), actually it is due to the merit of their sitting that they attain enlightenment. Truly, the merit is in sitting.'[30]

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[28]Instruction (*hōgo*) 11, *Kōroku*, sec. 8, in *DZZ*, 2:160-61.

[29]*Watō* (Ch. *huatou*) often is completely synonymous with *kōan* or *kosoku* in the sense of an old example that is used as a problem for contemplation during meditation. In a more narrow sense, *watō* refers to a single key word, such as *"Mu"* (i.e., "No"), that occurs in a *kōan*. One form of *kōan* contemplation would be the constant repetition of that key word.

[30]*Zuimonki*, 6, in *Koten bungaku-81*, 436-37; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:494.

Dōgen's emphasis on meditation for its own sake, "without anything to attain, without anything to enlighten" often is seen as a total rejection of the use of *kōan* for inducing or testing enlightenment. This view of Dōgen as having totally rejected *kōan* contemplation, however, leads to rather forced interpretations of Dōgen's affirmative statements on *kōan* use. For example, the *Shōbō genzō* chapter "Daigo" (Great Enlightenment) lists several items (such as: "the three realms constituting the universe, the multitude of plant life, the four fundamental elements of nature, the Buddhas and patriarchs") the grasping of which would constitute great enlightenment. Included in Dōgen's list is: "Grasping a *kōan*" (*Kōan wo nenjite daigosu*).[31] Kyōgō, the most anti-Rinzai of Dōgen's disciples, argued that *"kōan"* in this passage refers to "great enlightenment grasping great enlightenment" and therefore differs completely from the practice of "so-called Zen teachers who would advocate merely fixing a *kōan* to one's forehead [i.e., totally concentrating on a *kōan*]."[32]

In spite of Kyōgō's assertion, however, Dōgen's *goroku* includes his instructions for "fixing a *kōan* to ones forehead." Dōgen instructed the Zen monk Enchi that if he locked his eyes on the *kōan* "What is the Way?" and always kept it fixed to his forehead, then he would certainly attain enlightenment within thirty years.[33] By referring to a set span of time, Dōgen clearly indicates that he is instructing Enchi in the use of *kōan* as a means toward the end of attaining enlightenment. In another passage, Dōgen mentions among his students a Confucian scholar

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[31]*DZZ*, 1:83.

[32]*Shōbō genzōshō*, fasc. 6, "Daigo" chap., in *SBGZST*, 11:470-71.

[33]Instruction 2, *Kōroku*, sec. 8, in *DZZ*, 2:152-53.

from Kyushu whom he had been instructing in *kōan* contemplation.[34] Significantly, in contrast to the concept of *genjō kōan*, for this scholar Dōgen defined *"kōan"* by means of giving the stereotyped examples of "Juzhi's [Ch. Gutei] raising one finger, Linji's yelling, and Deshan's [Ch. Tokusan; 780-865] beating with his staff." All of these are well-known "old examples" (*kosoku*). Dōgen stated that it was with these *kōan* that "the worthy [teachers of the] past attested to [each other's] enlightenment." Moreover, Dōgen referred to this scholar's repeated visits to receive instruction in additional "old examples," thereby indicating that Dōgen had been instructing him in a systematic sequence of *kōan*. Likewise, Ejō's *Zuimonki* also records Dōgen's instructions on how to concentrate one's strength on a *kōan*.[35] Elsewhere in Dōgen's *goroku* and *Shōbō genzō*, well-known *kōan* are cited not as *genjō kōan*, but as old examples to be mastered.[36]

It is clear, therefore, that Dōgen taught *kōan* contemplation as a means to attain Zen understanding even as he also emphasized that the true purpose of Zen practice lies in meditation alone. These two seemingly contradictory approaches appear side by side in his instructions to the nun Ryōnen. Dōgen first cited a *kōan*, praising it as a fine means of realizing enlightenment. Then he warned Ryōnen that the *kōan* would be efficacious only through calm meditation:

> . . . [if one is] clear and calm then one will attain a response, but if one dwells on the one word and half a phrase, on the sayings

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[34]Instruction 5, *Kōroku*, sec. 8, in *DZZ*, 2:155-56.

[35]Sec. 6, in *Koten bungaku-81*, 481; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:490-91.

[36]For example, *SBGZ*, "Hakujishi" chap. (in *DZZ*, 1:350); or *Kōroku*, secs. 2, 3, 7, lecs. 169, 196, 226, 514, in *DZZ*, 2:44, 51, 58, 136. Also note Dōgen's use of appended sayings (*agyo* or *jakugo*) in sec. 6, lec. 455, in *DZZ*, 2:118.

of the Buddhas and patriarchs, or on our school's *kōan*, then these [become] evil poison.[37]

This passage is particularly indicative of Dōgen's approach because it represents Dōgen's simultaneous praise and criticism of *kōan* study. Imaeda Aishin has stated that there is a contradiction between the depiction of Dōgen's teachings in Ejō's *Zuimonki* and in Dōgen's own *Shōbō genzō*, in that the *Zuimonki* rejects *kōan* while the *Shōbō genzō* affirms them.[38] However, as the above quotes demonstrate, the contradiction (if any) should be sought within Dōgen's teaching itself. Both of these sources (and Dōgen's *goroku* as well) contain statements both affirming and then rejecting *kōan* study. Kagamishima Genryū has proposed that this apparent contradiction is a result of Dōgen's having taught *kōan* as a means of attaining enlightenment only at the beginning of his teaching career when the influence of his study in China was still fresh. According to Kagamishima's view, as Dōgen developed his own Japanese approach to Zen he gradually abandoned *kosoku kōan* in favor of *genjō kōan*.[39]

This position, however, is not supported by the chronological evidence of Dōgen's extant writings. "Genjō kōan" (composed in 1233) was one of the very first *Shōbō genzō* chapters Dōgen wrote. Two years later Dōgen composed his instructions on *kōan* contemplation in which he defined *kōan* as the raised finger, the sudden yell, or the blow with a

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[37]Instruction 4, *Kōroku*, sec. 8, in *DZZ*, 2:155.

[38]Imaeda Aishin, *Dōgen: Zazen hitosuji no shamon*, NHK Books, 255 (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1976), 178-79.

[39]"Dōgen no shisō," 11-12.

staff.[40] Clearly Dōgen had taught both approaches to *kōan* during this same period. Likewise, in Dōgen's *goroku* the term *"genjō kōan"* or *"kōan genjō"* occurs only in Dōgen's lectures given between 1241-1242 while Dōgen was still at Kōshōji in the capital. In the text of Dōgen's lectures between 1244-1252 after Dōgen had moved to Echizen (which occupy the bulk of the total recorded lectures) *"genjō kōan"* is not found. The reverse of Kagamishima's proposed chronological sequence also is presented by the *Shōbō genzō* chapter "Daigo" mentioned above in which Dōgen mentions "grasping a *kōan*." This chapter had been composed in 1242 at Kōshōji, but the words "grasping a *kōan*" first appeared when the essay was revised in 1244 after Dōgen had moved to Echizen.[41] If anything, Dōgen seems to have emphasized *genjō kōan* more at Kōshōji during the beginning of his career.

Even if Kagamishima is correct that Dōgen had shifted from an initial emphasis on *kōan* contemplation to a more mature emphasis on *genjō kōan*, that shift in Dōgen's teaching method easily could have fostered an impression among his disciples that *kōan* contemplation also was an acceptable training technique for some students, or under some circumstances. Keizan Jōkin, for example, writing about sixty years after Dōgen described different approaches to Zen meditation according to a student's level of ability. Superior students were said to practice Dōgen's purposeless sitting, unconcerned with either enlightenment or unenlightenment. For students having difficulty meditating, however, Keizan also recommended the use of *kōan*.[42]

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[40]For the date this lecture, see Itō, "'Eihei kōroku' setsuji nendai kō," 193.

[41]Kawamura, "'Shōbō genzō' seiritsu no sho mondai," pt. 6, 21.

[42]*Sankon zazensetsu*, in *JDZ*, 251.

Keizan

Keizan Jōkin's simultaneous emphasis upon Dōgen's purposeless Zen meditation while permitting the use of *kōan* during that meditation marks an extremely noteworthy transition between Dōgen Zen and the *kōan* study of medieval Sōtō. Keizan had begun his religious career at Eiheiji as a Sōtō monk, unlike Dōgen's direct disciples--all of whom had converted to Dōgen's teachings after first studying other forms of Buddhism. From the very start he had studied under Dōgen's leading disciples, and he studied only under Dōgen's disciples. The Tokugawa-period scholar Reinan Shūjo popularized the idea that Keizan also studied under the leading Rinzai masters in Kyoto.[43] Reinan's assertion, however, resulted from a bad conjecture based on a mistaken calculation of Keizan's year of birth. Keizan's own writings clearly reveal his career of study: first Ejō, then Jakuen, Gien, and finally Gikai.[44] From this well-rounded background, Keizan had ample opportunity to compare the different ways in which each of these disciples inherited and transmitted Dōgen's teachings. Although Keizan never met Dōgen, Keizan's teachings on meditation and *kōan* provide an excellent indication of how Dōgen's approach had been understood and accepted within the early Sōtō community as a whole.

Moreover, Keizan was deeply concerned with teaching the concrete details of everyday Zen practice. He wrote two essays specifically concerning meditation techniques: the *Zazen yōjinki* (Mindfulness in Zen Meditation) and the *Sankon zazensetsu* (The Three

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[43]*Rentōroku*, fasc. 2, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:244b.

[44]For a useful chronology of Keizan's life based on 1264 for his year of birth, see Takeuchi Kōdō, "Keizan Zenji ryaku nenpyō (seju rokunisai)," *SKK*, 18 (1986): 151-64.

Levels of Zen Meditation). In addition, he devoted large portions of his lectures and general instructions to expositions of the correct and incorrect approaches to Zen training. For example, about two-thirds of a Japanese-language essay Keizan prepared for the layman Shigeno Nobunao concerns the proper psychology of Zen meditation.[45] Keizan's having addressed such a technical topic to a layman is typical of the emphasis upon meditation practice found in his other writings as well.

Keizan's *Zazen yōjinki*, his principal description of Zen meditation, often is described as an elaboration of Dōgen's *Fukan zazengi*. This characterization is not completely accurate. The *Zazen yōjinki* does contain many quotations from Dōgen's *Fukan zazengi*, as well as many from Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*. Yet the majority of Keizan's identifiable quotations are taken from the *Hōkyōki*, Dōgen's account of Rujing's private instructions.[46] Rujing's list of thirty-five guidelines for beginners is explained in detail.[47] Keizan resembled Dōgen in asserting that Zen meditation admits no distinction between beginners and longtime practitioners.[48] Dōgen, however, had avoided committing the mechanics of his meditation technique to writings, preferring instead to describe a theoretical, ideal meditation through poetic language. In this respect Keizan more strongly resembled Rujing

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[45]*Tōkoku kaisan Keizan oshō no hōgo*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 49-56.

[46]Mizuno Kōgen identified passages with vocabulary and grammar similar to the *Hōkyōki* twelve times, to the *Fukan zazengi* five times, to Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* twice and to Dōgen's *Gakudō yōjinshū* twice. The last one-fourth of the text is based both on the *Fukan zazengi* and on the *Shōbō genzō* "Zazengi" chapter. See his "Keizan Zenji no zenjō shisō," in *Keizan Zenji kenkyū*, 312-54.

[47]Compare *Hōkyōki*, sec. 5, in *DZZ*, 2:373-75.

[48]Keizan Jōkin, *Sankon zazensetsu*, in *JDZ*, 252.

in focusing on the practical, concrete details of everyday practice. For this reason, Keizan's method of using *kōan* in teaching his students is much easier to discern than is the case with Dōgen. Keizan's statements on Zen meditation and *kōan* reveal how he reconciled Dōgen's teachings of just sitting with the meditative use of *kosoku kōan*.

Keizan's acceptance of *kōan* certainly did not derive from his having attributed any less importance to Zen meditation than Dōgen. In his *Zazen yōjinki*, Keizan asserts that the Buddha's entire career, enlightenment and preaching, had been due to the strength of Zen meditation, and that Zen meditation alone directly illuminates the mind.[49] Elsewhere Keizan asserts that the practice of Zen meditation itself is the Buddhas' enlightenment (*zazen zoku butsugo nari*).[50] In his writings, Keizan borrowed Dōgen's terminology to repeatedly assert that the practice of Zen meditation is just sitting (*shikan taza*),[51] that Zen meditation is the activity of enlightenment (*shinjin datsuraku*),[52] and that the experience of Zen meditation is "a revealing

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[49]*JDZ*, 243, 248. Regarding Keizan's assertion that Zen meditation is the direct illumination of the mind, see Akiyama Hanji, "Keizan" (1939), rpt. in *Zenke no shisō to shūkyō* (Tokyo: Sankibō, 1962), 218-19.

[50]*Nōshū Tōkoku kaisan hōgo*, in *Mumei sasshi* (ca.1468), Roku Jizōji (Ibaraki Pref.) Ms., in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 57a. In spite of its early date, this text is of doubtful origin. I have cited it only because this statement concisely expresses the same idea found in Keizan's other works. See Shiina Kōyū, "Roku Jizōji shozō 'Mumei sasshi' ni tsuite," *SG*, 14 (1972): 169a; and "Keizan Zenji ni kansuru sanshū no 'kana hōgo' kō," in *Keizan Zenji kenkyū*, 880, 892, 906-12.

[51]*Denkōroku*, patriarch 50, 105; and *Zazen yōjinki*, in *JDZ*, 247, 248.

[52]*Denkōroku*, patriarchs 4, 17, 50, 51, pp. 13, 35, 105-6, 111; *Zazen yōjinki*, in *JDZ*, 243, 248; *Gosoku rakuki*, *JDZ*, 412; *Keizan oshō goroku*, lec. 2, in *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:245; alt. in *JDZ*, 464; *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:240; alt. in *JDZ*, 421; and *Tōkoku kaisan Keizan oshō no hōgo*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 52b.

[the *gen* of *genjō*] within non-thought and a completeness [the *jō* of *genjō*] within non-interaction."[53] In advocating *shikan taza*, Keizan also cited Rujing's statement that in Zen practice "there is no need for lighting incense, worshipful prostrations, concentrating on the Buddha [-name], [ritual] repentance, or chanting scripture--just sit and [you] have it."[54] Using his own words, Keizan described *shikan taza* as simply: "the not doing of anything else; this is the essence of Zen training. . . . the body [sitting] without motions, the mouth without esoteric incantations, and the mind without thoughts."[55] Keizan recognized no other true Buddhist practice. His conception of Zen meditation can be understood best, perhaps, by analyzing his exposition of the phrases *shinjin datsuraku* and "a revealing within non-thought and a completeness within non-interaction."

Keizan began his *Zazen yōjinki* by defining Zen meditation as *"shinjin datsuraku,"* which he characterized as the "penetrating of heaven and earth by sitting (so that) the entire body (of reality) is perfectly manifest." Penetrating by sitting describes an active, involved approach to meditation, but the entire reality revealed thereby remains passive and undisturbed. Keizan defined *shinjin datsuraku* in more concrete terms as being "removed from both delusion and enlightenment, unchanging, motionless, nonactive, unobstructed, like being mindless, like being preoccupied, like the mountains, like the

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53 *"Fushryō ni shite gen, fuego ni shite jō"*; see *Zazen yōjinki*, in *JDZ*, 250; *Keizan oshō goroku*, lecs. 2, 8, in *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:245, 246; alt. in *JDZ*, 464, 465; and *Tōkoku kaisan Keizan oshō no hōgo*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 53a.

54 *Denkōroku*, patriarch 50, 105; and *Zazen yōjinki*, in *JDZ*, 248.

55 *Zazen yōjinki*, in *JDZ*, 247.

sea."[56] In his other writings, Keizan repeatedly refers to *shinjin datsuraku* as the experience of only a single true reality (*ichi shinjitsu nomi*).[57] This expression derives from a passage in the *Dai hatsunehangyō* (Skt. *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*) that describes leaves and bark falling away (*hifu datsuraku*) to reveal the true reality (i.e., structure) of a tree.[58] The metaphor asserts that enlightenment is the falling away of sensory illusions to reveal a single true reality. Dōgen once explicitly equated Rujing's *shinjin datsuraku* with *hifu datsuraku*.[59] Keizan never used these two expressions together, but repeatedly linked *shinjin datsuraku* to the enlightened experience of reality mentioned in the scripture.[60] In these statements, Keizan makes clear that meditation is not a means to an end. The goal or end (i.e., true reality) is fully actualized by the act of meditation itself.

Keizan also characterized Zen meditation as "a revealing within non-thought and a completeness within non-interaction." This line comes from Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* "Zazenshin" (Exhortation to Zen Meditation) chapter, within which it defines the content of "the essential crux of all Buddhas, the crucial essentials of all patriarchs."[61] In other words, this revealed completeness constitutes the essence of the dynamic

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[56] *Zazen yōjinki*, in *JDZ*, 243, 248.

[57] *Zazen yōjinki*, in *JDZ*, 243; and *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:240a; alt. in *JDZ*, 421.

[58] *Da banniepanjing* (Jpn. *Dai hatsunehangyō*), fasc. 39, in *T*, 12:597a.

[59] *Kōroku*, sec. 6, lec. 424, in *DZZ*, 2:107.

[60] Keizan did cite *hifu datsuraku* as a compound term; see *Denkōroku*, patriarchs 36, 46, pp. 75, 100.

[61] *"Butsubutsu no yōki, soso no kiyō"*; in *DZZ*, 1:100.

enlightenment enacted by the Buddhas and Zen patriarchs. The words "non-thought" (*fushiryō*) allude to Yaoshan Weiyan's (Jpn. Yakusan Igen; 745-828) classic characterization of Zen meditation as "thinking non-thinking."[62] Keizan explained this revealing within non-thought as the reattainment of an original, pristine consciousness before the separation of subject and object: "To think non-thought, to become enlightened to non-enlightenment, is named 'heaven and earth not yet sundered,' 'body and mind not yet germinated' . . . 'the casting away of all exertion (*kufū*),'"[63] Note that the "exertion" or *kufū* rejected by Keizan is the very mental struggle said to be necessary to conquer a *kōan* problem. In Zen meditation without either exertion or conscious contemplation we experience the revelation of the ultimate unity of true reality.

The words "non-interaction" (*fuego*) in the second half of Dōgen's expression refer to a lack of sensory interaction between mind and objects. This phrase alludes to a paradoxical statement by Shitou Xiqian (Jpn. Sekitō Kisen; 700-790) that describes enlightenment as sensory subjective sensation and objective material reality functioning together through mutual interaction (*ego*) while subject and object maintain distinct, independent identities through mutual non-interaction (*fuego*).[64] In other words, enlightenment embraces two modes of reality simultaneously: (1) the mystical interpenetration of self with all existence and (2) the alienation of self from all. Keizan explained

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[62]*Jingde chuandenglu*, fasc. 14, in *T*, 51:311c.

[63]*Tōkoku kaisan Keizan oshō no hōgo*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 50b.

[64]*Cantongqi* (Jpn. *Sandōkai*), in *Jingde chuandenglu*, fasc. 32, in *T*, 51:459b.

this "non-interaction" within which completeness is attained as the uncluttered mind, undisturbed by any conscious conceptions: "[It is] the stopping of all concerns, the purification of the mind, like a lake without waves or the sky without clouds."[65] In Zen meditation unfettered by mental images, each object attains completeness in and of itself.

Keizan closed his *Zazen yōjinki* with the exhortation that this original interpenetration of subject and object (i.e., "non-thought") undisturbed by conceptions (i.e., "non-interaction") attained through Zen meditation must be realized in the performance of monastic rituals as well. He wrote that revealing proper monastic decorum within non-thought means that everything presently complete (*genjō*) is *kōan*, while completely practicing inherent enlightenment within non-interaction means that every *kōan* is presently complete (*genjō*).[66] This exhortation alludes to the inseparateness of monastic ritual and Zen meditation in Dōgen's Zen. It asserts that *genjō kōan* is the *kōan* (i.e., reality) experienced in daily ritual and perfected in daily meditation. Monastic ritual--our interaction with the external world--performed within non-thought reveals the interdependence of all existence. Zen meditation--our withdrawal from external concerns--performed within non-interaction demonstrates the completeness and perfection of each individual aspect of reality. Keizan asserted that the whole of Buddhism, the subtle

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[65] *Tōkoku kaisan Keizan oshō no hōgo*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 50a.

[66] *"Fushiryō ni shite igi wo genzuru toki wa genjō sunawachi kōan; fuego ni shite shushō wo jōzuru toki wa kōan sunawachi genjō"*; in *Zazen yōjinki*, in *JDZ*, 250.

essential teaching of the Buddhas and patriarchs lies just in this approach to Zen meditation.[67]

The comments cited above demonstrate that Keizan adhered closely to the doctrines established by Dōgen. Unlike either Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō* or Senne and Kyōgō's *Shōbō genzōshō*, however, Keizan explained exactly how Zen meditation should be practiced in practical terms. His practical instructions reveal the influence of Rujing through Dōgen's *Hōkyōki*. Yet Keizan provided even more detailed instructions than those found in the *Hōkyōki*. For example, Rujing told Dōgen that the locations upon which one should allow one's attention to rest during Zen meditation all have been predetermined. Of these many possible locations, however, the *Hōkyōki* specifically mentions only the palm of one's left hand.[68] In contrast to the *Hōkyōki*, Keizan asserted that for long periods of meditation, it is unnecessary to locate one's attention upon anything in particular. Then he described special circumstances that might lead one to select a specified location: the palm of the left hand for ordinary circumstances, the soles of the feet when agitated by fantastic visions, the top of the forehead when troubled by torpor, and the tip of the nose or the area just below the navel when troubled by distractions.[69] In the *Hōkyōki* Rujing also recommended reciting the preface to the text of the Bodhisattva precepts for combating physical and mental agitation.[70] Keizan likewise

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[67]Ibid.

[68]Sec. 43, in *DZZ*, 2:387.

[69]*Zazen yōjinki*, in *JDZ*, 246.

[70]Sec. 5, in *DZZ*, 2:374. Regarding the identity of this preface, also see Ishida Mizumaro, "Dōgen: Sono kai to shingi," pt. 1, *Kanazawa bunko kenkyū*, 8:3 (March 1962), 2-3.

recommended reciting this preface, but mainly as an aid for preventing drowsiness.

When reciting this preface proved ineffective, Keizan also recommended concentrating on a *kosoku kōan*.[71] It is important to note that this *kosoku kōan* was to be used only as an aid to attaining true Zen meditation, not as a means of achieving a self-induced sensation of enlightenment. Like Dōgen, Keizan emphatically rejected any practice of Zen meditation based on the anticipation of attaining enlightenment. Like Dōgen, he asserted that practice based on waiting for enlightenment (*taigo isoku*) misses the point of Zen meditation.[72] According to Keizan, those who wait for enlightenment (*taigo*) fall into a type of meditation illness, worse than the practices of non-Buddhists whose meditation renders them into "dead bodies containing ghosts" (*ki fusantei no shinin*).[73] Therefore, Keizan resembled Dōgen in his rejection of any approach to Zen in which enlightenment experiences or *kōan* training would be awarded greater importance than the practice of pure meditation.

Yet Keizan also differed from Dōgen. Keizan admitted the needs of some people to practice lower forms of Zen meditation. Keizan always addressed the mundane experience of average monks. For this reason even Keizan's purely theoretical description of Zen meditation, *Sankon zazensetsu*, mentions two lower, more mundane approaches to meditation in addition to Dōgen's ideal "single-minded sitting." The three levels

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[71]*Zazen yōjinki*, in *JDZ*, 249.

[72]Ibid., 247.

[73]*Tōkoku kaisan Keizan oshō no hōgo*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 54a; and *Denkōroku*, patriarch 6, 16. The *ZSZ* text misprints the *"soku"* (principle) of *"taigo isoku"* as *"soku"* (leg).

(*sankon*) explained by Keizan refer to three ways in which one experiences Zen meditation. They are not necessarily distinct approaches to Zen. According to Keizan, even the lowest level of Zen meditation embodies the best of all Buddhist practices. Just by assuming the correct posture of a sitting Buddha one already will have embraced all the Buddhist precepts of laymen, monks and bodhisattvas and be removed from all evil actions. The middle level, or average meditation, is characterized by the effort that must be continually exerted. At this stage the Zen monk must constantly concentrate his attention on his breathing, focus his eyes on the tip of his nose or cling to a *kōan* in order to free himself from all distractions. Finally in the highest level of Zen meditation one merely sits. There is neither any striving for enlightenment nor any enlightenment to be obtained.[74] Keizan's highest level of meditation clearly would correspond to Dōgen's *shinjin datsuraku* and *shikan taza*.[75] Unlike Dōgen, however, implicit within Keizan's explanation of these three levels of Zen meditation one can detect the belief that the lower two levels are necessary prerequisites to the higher level of true Zen meditation.

Keizan also differed from Dōgen in terms of the great emphasis he placed upon the "pivotal breaking through [to enlightenment]" (*tōki*). Zen tradition claims heir to a unique patriarchal succession. Yet the exact nature of that succession remains obscure. For Dōgen, personal

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[74] *Sankon zazensetsu*, in *JDZ*, 251-52.

[75] Mizuno Kōgen, "Keizan Zenji no zenjō shisō," 340-44.

intimacy between master and disciple seems to have sufficed.[76] For Keizan, however, dharma succession only resulted from a master having invoked in his student the full realization of enlightenment. The biographies of the Japanese Sōtō patriarchs Keizan composed at Gorohō for the Yōkōji mausoleum (i.e., the Dentōin) and his lectures on the transmission of the Sōtō lineage (the *Denkōroku*) describe the relationships between each patriarch and successor solely in terms of the single instance at which the teacher invoked his student's enlightenment. This emphasis on the pivotal moment (*tōki*) of enlightenment reveals the influence of contemporary Chinese Chan biographical literature in which the lectures and activities of the patriarchs receive less weight than the circumstances leading up to their enlightenment. These circumstances (*innen*) constitute the subject of *kosoku kōan.* The concept that a teacher can invoke a sudden, single transformation of a student's consciousness is very similar to the concept of "seeing reality," or *"kenshō,"* advocated in Rinzai Zen. In fact, Keizan accepted *"kenshō"* as one provisional term for such an experience.[77] Moreover in a conversation with his disciple Koan Shikan, Keizan defended the language of one particular *kōan* by asserting that many monks had attained enlightenment upon hearing it.[78] Therefore, although Keizan and Dōgen alike had rejected any Zen practices based upon waiting for enlightenment, Keizan nonetheless recognized the importance of the enlightenment experience as the validation of Zen

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[76]At least Manzan Dōhaku thought so. See *Manzan oshō Tōmon ejoshū*, ed. Sanshū Hakuryū (1711), leaf 7a, in *SBGZST*, 20:606.

[77]*Tōkoku kaisan Keizan oshō no hōgo*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 51b.

[78]*Tōkokuki*, recopied 1432 by Eishū, Daijōji Ms., in *SG*, 16 (1974): 241; alt. *JDZ* edn. (1937), 400.

tradition.

Keizan's acknowledgement of different levels of effort and awareness within Zen meditation practice, his emphasis upon the pivotal moment of enlightenment and his acceptance of the term, *"kenshō,"* overlap with many elements of *kōan* training as practiced in Rinzai Zen lineages. Keizan (like his former training partner Giun) had failed to inherit the sharp distinction between Dōgen's Zen and Rinzai Zen claimed by Senne and Kyōgō--in spite of his conscientious efforts to impart Dōgen's teachings faithfully.

Keizan's use of *kōan*, however, does not stand out as a turning point in the eventual acceptance of Rinzai-style *kōan* training within the Sōtō tradition. The assumption of Daijōji's abbotship by Kyōō Unryō proved far more significant. Although Keizan must bear major responsibility for Unryō's term at Daijōji, the subsequent development of *kōan* training in the Japanese Sōtō tradition owes more to the influence of Rinzai teachers such as Kyōō than it does to Keizan's teachings. Kyōō, for example, compiled his own *Shōbō genzō*, a *kōan* collection probably handed down within medieval Sōtō lineages. While Dōgen's *genjō kōan* and *shikan taza* continued to be major axioms of Sōtō practice throughout the medieval period, later Sōtō methods of *kōan* instruction must be examined in light of techniques that already had developed within some rural Japanese Rinzai lineages. Therefore before further discussing Sōtō traditions of *kōan* study, we will first briefly summarize the unique features of early Japanese Rinzai *kōan* training.

Kōan Study in Early Japanese Rinzai Zen

Early Japanese Rinzai Zen, unlike Dōgen's Sōtō school, lacked a unified transmission or single standard of legitimacy and teaching methods. Little evidence remains to indicate how the various teachers within each Rinzai lineage taught *kōan* contemplation (*kanna*). The teaching of *kōan*, however, can be analyzed within the context of early Japanese Zen study as a whole. The Japanese acceptance of Zen as an independent religious institution often more entailed the Japanese adaptation of the literary and artistic fashions of the Song-dynasty Chinese aristocracy than it required major religious adjustments. All the trappings of Zen monastic life, from the architecture and decoration of monastic buildings to the proper etiquette of washing one's face, were more foreign to the Japanese than the practice of sitting in meditation.[79] *Kōan* training proved to be no exception to this general pattern. The proper form and conduct of the training process had to be mastered just as much as the religious content conveyed by the *kōan*. Moreover, the *kōan* were taught and written in a language even more foreign than the specialized literary Chinese employed in traditional Buddhist exegesis.

Scholars typically explain the development of *kōan* language as the result of a Chinese rejection of abstract Indian terminology in favor of simple, concrete expressions. It is ironic, therefore, that this "direct" idiom required prodigious amounts of intellectual accomplishment and textual investigation by Japanese students of Chinese Chan. Even Chinese monks could not achieve spontaneity of expression in

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[79]Dōgen claimed that Japanese had had no custom of daily face washing until he introduced the practice from China (see *SBGZ*, "Senmen" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:432).

the unique paradoxical idiom of classical Chan without great familiarity with Chan literature. As nonnative speakers of Chinese, Japanese could acquire that spontaneity only after long struggle.[80] By the time of the Southern Song dynasty (twelfth century) not only had a large corpus of Chan literature with many standardized *genres* already been created, but also the practice of alluding to secular Chinese literature had become widely practiced. As with other Chinese literati, Chan masters were expected to compose verse freely for all occasions. Especially noteworthy was the custom of composing verse commentary upon famous *kōan*. Even Dōgen had adhered to this practice with his own Chinese-language poem commentary on ninety selected *kōan*.[81] The ability merely to read these poetic comments with full comprehension of the Chan terminology and literary allusions could be attained only by well-educated Japanese monks. Even fewer could ever expect to compose their own verses.

Moreover, initially Japanese Zen students also had to confront the obstacle of studying under teachers who spoke only Chinese. Many Japanese monks failed to ever bridge the barrier of mastering spoken Chinese. Monks returned from China carrying more of China's material culture than her spiritual one. Even Chinese teachers in Japan rarely learned more than a few words of Japanese. The Chinese master Yishan Yining (Jpn. Issan Ichinei; 1247-1317) who arrived in Japan 1299 refused to accept Japanese students unless they were able to demonstrate their proficiency in Chinese. Japanese monks who mastered Chinese

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[80]Tamamura, "Rinka no mondai," 1006-7.

[81]"Eihei juko," in *Kōroku*, sec. 9, in *DZZ*, 2:167-85.

pronunciation and who could quote Chinese literary proverbs won more ready acceptance from their Chinese teachers.[82]

The Zen inherited by these Japanese students continued to be taught in imitation of the same Chinese syntax and stereotyped norms.[83] Teacher and disciple exchanged questions and answers in Chinese word order. Successful completion of a *kōan* had to be attested to by the student's supplying a proper "appended verse" (*jakugo*) selected either from Chan or secular Chinese literature. At the officially sponsored Zen temples--the ones belonging to the *Gozan* (Five Mountain) system--senior monks were expected to excel at composing Chinese verse in the complex style of matched counterpoint lines (usually alternating in four and six character combinations) known as *pianliwen* (Jpn. *benreibun*). For these monks, mastering the intricacies of Chinese prosody became a major occupation.[84] Only the brightest, most studious monks could hope to succeed within the literary confines of the officially sponsored Zen temples. Rinzai monks of less scholastic inclination turned to the non-

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[82]Tamamura, *Gozan bungaku*, 173-75; and Akamatsu Toshihide and Philip Yampolsky, "Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System," in *Japan in The Muromachi Age*, ed. John W. Hall and Toyoda Takeshi, 321-22.

[83]The following discription of early Japanese Rinzai *kōan* training is based on Suzuki Daisetz, "Nihon ni okeru kōanzen no dentō," in *Zen shisōshi kenkyū* (1941), rpt. in Suzuki Daisetsu Zenshū (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1968), 1:233-302; and Tamamura, "Rinka no mondai," 1006-32.

[84]Tamamura Takeji, "Zen no tenseki" (1941), rpt. in *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū*, 3:156.

Gozan affiliated Zen monasteries, the *Rinka*, where they gradually developed more accessible methods of *kōan* instruction.[85]

Kōan instruction as developed within Rinzai *Rinka* lineage had three essential characteristics: a standardized *kōan* curriculum, a standardized set of answers based upon stereotyped Chinese sayings, and a standardized method of secretly guiding students through the curriculum of *kōan* and answers. By standardizing and simplifying each of these, the early Japanese *Rinka* teachers not only lessened the amounts of memorization required for *kōan* to be mastered by nonnative speakers of Chinese, but also insured the preservation of the *kōan* system for later generations of students. *Kōan* training systems based upon these three characteristics eventually were adopted within many Sōtō lineages and through the modifications imposed by Hakuin Ekaku (1685-1768) have continued to dominate Japanese Rinzai Zen.[86]

The content of the *kōan* curriculum differed in each *Rinka* lineage, but within any particular lineage every generation of students would proceed through a set series of *kōan*, more or less in an invariable step-by-step order. By repeating the same series of *kōan* in each generation, both teacher and student were freed from the burden of having to confront vast numbers of Zen texts. When a student later

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[85]As explained above (chap. 5, n. 74) medieval *Gozan* monks pejoratively referred to all Zen temples (even urban ones such as Daitokuji) not included within the officially-sponsored *Gozan* system as *rinka* (i.e., "lower [-class] monasteries"). Modern scholars (based on Tamamura's "Rinka no mondai") have redefined *"rinka"* in a netural sense to refer to all rural-based medieval Zen institutions.

[86]Kajiya Sōnin, "Kōan no soshiki," in *Zen no koten: Nihon*, Kōza Zen, 7, ed. Nishitani Keiji (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1968), 263-70; Miura Isshū, "Koan Study in Rinzai Zen," trans. Ruth Fuller Sasaki, in *Zen Dust*, 33-76; and Shibayama Zenkei, "Hakuin Zen no kanna ni tsuite," in *Rinzai no Zenfū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1970), 111-50.

became a Zen teacher and began instructing his own disciples, he merely had to follow the examples set by his own teacher. Innovation was not required, nor it seems, widely practiced.[87] Although each lineage had its own techniques for *kōan* study, most curriculums followed a threefold division. For example, the Daitokuji lineage placed particular emphasis upon the *kōan* of the *Hekiganroku* (Ch. *Biyanlu*). In this lineage the curriculum consisted of the following sequence: the initiatory *kōan* (known as *hekizen*), the *kōan* of the *Hekiganroku* (known as the *hekigan*) and the *kōan* to be studied afterwards (the *hekigo*). A few other lineages concentrated upon *kōan* taken from just three texts: first the *Hekiganroku;* second the *Rinzairoku* (Ch. *Linjilu;* Record of Linji); and third the *Mumonkan* (Ch. *Wumenguan;* Kōans of Wumen). These three levels were known as the first, second, and third barriers (*shokan*, *ryōkan*, and *sankan*).[88]

The most common divisions, however, classified *kōan* not upon any textual basis but according to content. In these curriculums, the three types or levels of *kōan* (known as the *"sanmi"* within the Sōtō lineages) usually consisted of the categories of: "Ultimate Truth" (*richi*), "Devices" (*kikan*) and "Reality Itself" (*kōjō*).[89] The division of Zen *kōan* into these three categories is found even in the earliest Japanese Rinzai accounts of *kōan* and might well have been based upon Chinese precedents. For example, Enni Ben'en wrote:

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[87]Suzuki Daisetz, "Nihon ni okeru kōanzen no dentō," 242-43, 274; and Tamamura, "Rinka no mondai," 1007-9.

[88]Suzuki Daisetz, "Nihon ni okeru kōanzen no dentō," 238-39, 243; and Tamamura, "Rinka no mondai," 1007-9.

[89]Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron," pt. 5, *KBK*, 43 (1985): 102-3.

> [One must] directly transcend the *richi* and *kikan* of the Buddhas and patriarchs. Transcending the Buddhas' *richi* is passing through the forest of brambles. Transcending the patriarchs' *kikan* is penetrating through the iron mountain and steel wall. Then for the first time one will know the fundamental *kōjō*.[90]

And Nanpo Shōmyō (1235-1308), the founder of the Daiō lineage, wrote:

> Although the [finite] number of *kōan* is said to be one thousand seven hundred, the mountains and rivers, the great earth, the grasses and trees, the forests--whatever is seen by the eyes, whatever is heard by the ears--all of these are *kōan*. Within our school, [*kōan*] comprises three meanings. These are *richi*, *kikan*, and *kōjō*. The first, *richi*, are the heart [i.e., essence] or nature indicated by the truthful words preached by all Buddhas and taught by the patriarchs. The next, *kikan*, are the displays of compassion by the Buddhas and patriarchs: the twisting of one's nose, the twinkling of an eye. In other words it is, 'The stone horse wading in the water.' The last, *kōjō*, are the direct words of the Buddha, the true form of all reality, all without differentiation. This is what is meant by the sayings: 'The sky is the sky, and the earth is the earth;' 'Mountains are mountains, and water is water;' 'Eyes are horizontal, and the nose is vertical.'[91]

According to Nanpo, the first type of *kōan* consists of responses to metaphysical or doctrinal questions, the second type included accounts of the illogical statements or extraordinary teaching methods (shouts and beatings) used by famous Zen teachers, and the last type included the stories of how famous teachers had used or described common objects or situations. These three categories of *kōan* correspond to the standard Buddhist technique of describing reality or enlightenment in terms of its nature, its functions and its appearances. But whereas traditional Indian Buddhist descriptions relied upon abstract philosophical terminology, *kōan* language employs vivid examples of each category.

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[90]"Ji Nyo jōza," in *Shōichi kokushi goroku* (1417), in *T*, 80:20b.

[91]*Daiō kana hōgo* (pub. 1646), in *Zenmon hōgoshū*, ed., Mori Daikyō (1932), rev. edn., ed., Yamada Kōdō (Tokyo: Shigensha, 1973), 2:438.

The second distinctive feature of the Japanese *kōan* training techniques that developed among the *Rinka* lineage was the systematic use of stereotyped Chinese phrases to analyze or answer each *kōan*. The roots of this practice probably date to the very first Japanese attempts to overcome the barrier of the Chinese language. The course of its growth, however, can be gauged only from the sporadic criticisms of this practice that appear in the writings of major *Gozan* teachers. Wuxue Zuxuan (Jpn. Mugaku Sogen; 1226-1286) who arrived in Japan 1279 lamented the tendency of his Japanese students to compile lists of sayings from Zen texts. Zuxuan admonished his student not to reuse the words of others without knowing the experience for oneself, a practice which he described as less beneficial than merely reciting the Buddha's Name.[92] Likewise, Musō Soseki termed the tendency of Japanese monks to identify Zen sayings with Zen enlightenment an insane delusion.[93] According to Soseki, many "self-styled men of the Way" (*dōnin;* i.e., *Rinka* monks)[94] failed to acquire sufficient learning. He criticized these monks for devoting too much time to meditation instead of reading Zen texts and studying Chinese classics.[95] These monks, Soseki asserted, would skim Zen texts not for the meaning but only in order to glean the alternative

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[92]"Kokkō fusetsu," in *Bukkō kokushi goroku* (pub. 1726), fasc. 9; in *T*, 80:229b-c.

[93]All quotes from Musō Soseki in this paragraph are from: "Seisan yawa" (ca.1338-1314), in *Musō kokushi goroku*, fasc. 2:b; in *T*, 80:495a, 493c, 494c-495a.

[94]Regarding the nuances of *dōnin*, see Tamamura, "Rinka no mondai," 1006.

[95]Regarding Musō's emphasis upon scriptural learning, see Akamatsu and Yampolsky, "Muromachi Zen and the Gozan System," 322-24.

responses (*daigo*) or supplemental sayings (*betsugo*) that past masters had supplied for various *kōan*.

Evidence in support of Musō's statement can be found in one medieval commentary on the *Hekiganroku* which asserts that *kōan* texts were read completely differently at Kyoto *Gozan* and at *Rinka* temples.[96] At *Gozan* monasteries texts were studied in a scholastic fashion. At *Rinka* monasteries, however, the predominant form of *kōan* study was the memorization of a set number of stereotyped sayings. These sayings, generally known as "appended words" (*agyo*), would be used to summarize or explain each segment of a *kōan* text. In the course of his *kōan* training a student would learn not only the expressions favored within his own lineage but also exactly what types of situations would fit each expression. Unlike *Gozan* monks who composed their own Chinese verse, *Rinka* monks merely had to select an appropriate phrase from a limited set of "appended words." This means that the same Chinese phrase might have been used on separate occasions to describe very different experiences. Regardless of a student's own understanding of Zen, its depth or superficiality, little individuality or creativity was allowed in his responses to a *kōan*.[97] This emphasis upon imitation generally is credited with causing a gradual decline in the vitality of Rinzai Zen.[98] Whether or not such a decline occurred, on the positive side this reliance upon stereotyped phrases also helped insure the survival of the

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[96]*Hekiganshūshō*, Nanzenji Konjiin Ms., owned by Matsugaoka Bunko as cited by Tamamura, "Rinka no mondai," 1007.

[97]Suzuki Daisetz, "Nihon ni okeru kōanzen no dentō," 274.

[98]See, for example, Suzuki Daitetz, "Nihon ni okeru kōanzen no dentō," 284; and Ruth Fuller Sasaki, "The History of Koan in Rinzai (Lin-chi) Zen," 21-22.

kōan system by simplifying the linguistic demands of the *kōan* method--at a time when Chinese learning was not widespread. Also this repetitive use of Zen sayings would not necessarily have stifled individuality. Instead it could have resembled the drills used in modern foreign language instruction that foster the ability of students to correctly use a large vocabulary of new terms even before they fully understanding each word. The stereotyped answers would give Zen students the means to acquire rapid fluency in Zen expression and provide them with the linguistic ability to interpret their Zen experiences. In emulating the answers of the patriarchs, the monks also emulated their enlightenment. Certainly, the hackneyed, stereotyped emulation of beginner monks would have lacked all inner meaning. Yet many monks must have developed true inner fluency in both Zen realization and Zen language as their practice matured.

The third essential feature of *kōan* training at *Rinka* temples was the teaching method of private instruction during which the teacher would initiate his students into the proper series of responses for each *kōan*. Private instruction always has been a key element of organized Zen monastic life. The earliest Chinese Chan monastic code (i.e., the *Chanyuan qinggui*) provides full instructions for the ceremony of Entering the Master's Quarters (*nyusshitsu*) during which all the monks would assemble at the abbot's building and then enter one by one.[99] The medieval *Rinka* Japanese Rinzai lineages, however, practiced an informal private instruction, conducted in secret only for selected individual students who would visit the abbot's quarters alone. In purpose and

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[99]Fasc. 1, "Rushi" (Jpn. "Nyusshitsu"); rev. edn., *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 66-69.

content these informal private instruction sessions were completely different from the private instruction conducted as part of the formal group ceremony. During the regular formal visits to the Abbot's Quarters, the teacher would supervise and encourage each member of the community of monks, one at a time. The informal instruction sessions, however, were limited to senior disciples who would soon inherit their teacher's dharma lineage. For these disciples alone the teacher would conduct lengthy initiation into the entire *kōan* curriculum and into that lineage's own set of questions and answers to be used for each *kōan*. These private sessions were known as *"missan"* (secret instructions).[100]

Secret manuals recording the *kōan* curriculum exist for several lineages. The more detailed of these manuals are nearly complete textbooks of both the *kōan* curriculum and the standardized answers taught in that particular lineage. In the Rinzai school these manuals are known as *missanroku* or *missanchō*.[101] In the Sōtō school texts similar to Rinzai *missanroku* generally are referred to as *monsan*, a word that appears to be an abbreviation of the more descriptive term *monto*

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[100]This definition of *"Missan"* come from a commentary on the *Record of Linji* titled *Gogyakunin monrai* (Five Wayward Men Hear Thunder) and said to have been copied by Takuan Sōhō (1573-1645). See Kaneda Hiroshi, *Tōmon shōmono to kokugo kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ōfūsha, 1976), 143.

[101]The most detailed study of Rinzai *kōan* manuals to date remains the pioneering work of Suzuki Daisetz, "Nihon ni okeru kōanzen no dentō," 233-302. Tominaga Shūho first revealed the content and structure of *missanroku* twenty-five years before Suzuki's study when--under the pseudonym "Hau Hōō" (i.e., a traditional term for Buddhism as the "King of the Teachings that Refute Substantiality")--he published *Gendai sōjizen no hyōron* (1916; rpt. 1935; 2d rpt., Tokyo: Mizuho Shoten, 1971)--an essay rejecting the *kōan* training methods taught in Rinzai lineages along with one *missanroku*. The *missanroku* portion of Tominaga's book has been translated by Yoel Hoffmann, *The Sound of the One Hand: 281 Zen Koans with Answers* (New York: Basic Books, 1975). Unfortunately, Hoffmann wrote his introduction without knowledge of Suzuki's research.

hissan (i.e., "the secret instructions of this lineage").[102] The development of *missanroku* is obscure. No early texts survive. The earliest extant texts (sixteenth century) represent well developed, old traditions. The practice of secretly initiating students into particular questions and answers for each *kōan*, therefore, must have very early roots. It probably co-evolved with the first two features of Japanese *kōan* study as a method to insure the faithful transmission of the standardized curriculum and stereotyped answers.

Certainly, the writing of *missanroku* was widely practiced by the time of the Daiō-line Rinzai monk Ikkyū Sōjun (1394-1481). In his "Self Admonitions" (*Jikaishū*, ca.1461), Ikkyū assailed the exaggerated importance Zen monks attach to dharma succession and their equating of initiation into *kōan* answers with attainment of that succession.[103] Ikkyū focused the brunt of his attacks upon Yōsō Sōi (1376-1458), a fellow Daiō-line monk who had become noted for his successful campaign to rebuild Daitokuji. Ikkyū accused Yōsō of having obtained contributions from the merchants in the trading town of Sakai in exchange for teaching them the questions, answers and verses for the *kōan* taught at Daitokuji. These merchants (even as laymen) then could claim to be full Zen masters with knowledge of all the traditions handed down within the Daiō line. Evidently, the possibility of being initiated into the esoteric lore of Zen language had proved extremely tempting even to worldly merchants. In his *Jikaishū* Ikkyū also claimed

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[102]Kaneda Hiroshi, "Tōmon shōmonorui shomoku kaidai: Zoku kō," *Kokugakuin zasshi*, 78:11 (Nov. 1977), 106-7.

[103]All quotes from Ikkyū in this paragraph are from the *Jikaishū*, rpt. in *Kyōunshū: Kyōun shishū, Jikaishū*, ed., Nakamoto Tamaki, Shinsen Nihon Koten Bunko, 5 (Tokyo: Gendai Shichō, 1976), 351, 357, 377-58.

that Meihō (i.e., Keizan's disciple) similarly had initiated a lay disciple who then taught Zen to other laymen. There is no way to verify Ikkyū's claims. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that instructions for *kōan* contemplation in Dōgen's recorded sayings also were addressed to laymen as was the "Genjō kōan" chapter of his *Shōbō genzō*.

Rinzai Influences

After Keizan moved to Yōkōji, Kyōō Unryō (a Rinzai monk of the *Rinka* Hottō line) took over the abbotship of Daijōji. At Yōkōji Keizan transmitted his Sōtō dharma lineage to Kohō Kakumyō, but Kohō soon left to join the same Rinzai Hottō line.[104] Kyōō Unryō had been the student of Shinchi Kakushin. Kohō Kakumyō had studied under Zhongfeng Mingben, the Linqi master noted for his definition of *gong'an* (*kōan*). Kohō's disciple Bassui Tokushō studied under both Meihō and Gasan. Thus began a period of mutual exchange between *Rinka* Rinzai monks and Keizan's Sōtō lineage that had profound consequences for the subsequent development of Japanese Sōtō Zen.[105] As a result of these contacts, Sōtō and Hottō lineages shared similar practices such as an emphasis on the Zen pacification of village spirits (*shinjin kado*).[106] The teachings of Rinzai patriarchs such as Zhongfeng Mingben and of Sōtō patriarchs were mixed together in the same texts. Most important, many Sōtō lines adopted the techniques for studying *kōan* that had evolved in *Rinka* Japanese Rinzai monasteries.

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[104]See chapter 4, secs. on Keizan's policies at Yōkōji, and Keizan's religious personality.

[105]Azuma, "Shoki no Nihon Sōtōshū to Rinzai Hottōha."

[106]Hanuki Masai, "Tōmon Zensō to shinjin kado no setsuwa," *Komazawa shigaku*, 10 (1962): 44-51.

Rinzai-style *kōan* study seems to have spread among Sōtō monks sometime around the end of the fourteenth century, following the deaths of Meihō and Gasan. One Sōtō *kōan* manual (i.e., *monsan*) states that Gasan's disciple Tsūgen Jakurei found it necessary to forbid his disciples from teaching *kōan* in secret.[107] Yet Tsūgen's biography reports that secret instruction in *kōan* became common during his lifetime.[108] Other evidence supports the accuracy of this chronology. The earliest extant *monsan* text, the *Ensō monsan*, purports to be a 1396 copy by Mugoku Etetsu (1350-1430)--a disciple of one of Tsūgen Jakurei's disciples.[109] Likewise, Baisan Monpon (Tsūgen's contemporary) had ordered his disciples to study *watō* (i.e., *kōan*).[110] Also, a Sōtō temple in Kyushu published between 1397 and 1411 a woodblock edition of the *Hekiganroku*, the premier *kōan* collection.[111]

Rinzai style *kōan* study spread among Sōtō lineages because Rinzai and Sōtō monks studied at each other's temples. Rinzai-Sōtō fraternization continued in every generation of the Rinzai Hottō line, but was not confined to any one lineage.[112] Sometimes Rinzai *Gozan* monks joined Sōtō temples after growing dissatisfied with the *Gozan*

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[107] *Shūmon no ichi daiji innen*, copied 1607 by Chūgan Shōteki (d.1622), as cited by Ishikawa Rikizan, "Minokuni Ryūtaiji shozō no monsan shiryō ni tsuite," pt. 2, *KBK*, 38 (1970): 195-96.

[108] *Jōshū Daisenzan Hodaiji zoku denki* (1714), in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:631a.

[109] See vol. 6 of *Tōmon shōmono to kokugo kenkyū--shiryō*, ed., Kaneda Hiroshi. In his accompanying study (pp. 279-80), Kaneda reports that this text might actually be a later recopy.

[110] *Baisan oshō jūshichi kajō kingo*, in *Komonjo*, 2:310.

[111] Tajima Hakudō, "Nikkō Chōzenjibon 'Hekiganshū' ni tsuite," *IBK*, 5:1 (Jan. 1957), 265-69.

[112] Tamamura Takeji, "Rinka no mondai," 1012-28.

emphasis upon literary pursuits. Likewise, many Sōtō monks (especially those of Giin's line) studied in *Gozan* temples in order to learn the intricacies of Chinese prosody. Study with *Rinka* Rinzai monks, however, was much more common. To illustrate the interconnections between medieval Rinzai and Sōtō monks, Tamamura Takeji cites the example of Shōchū Shōtan (d.1492), a Rinzai monk, and Chikuba Kōtaku (1419-1471), a Sōtō monk.[113]

Shōchū Shōtan inherited the *kōan* curriculum of the Genjū line of *Rinka* Rinzai Zen from his master Yūhō Tōeki. This Genjū line actually comprised several otherwise unaffiliated lineages that traced their origins back among the many Japanese students of Zhongfeng Mingben. Shōchū Shōtan remained unsatisfied with his level of attainment in spite of the full initiation he had received from Yūhō Tōeki. In 1433 he spent seven days on sacred Mt. Kiyosumi praying to Kokūzō bodhisattva as a vow to complete his mastery of Zen. He then climbed Mt. Fuji in order to have his next Zen teacher selected by means of ritual divination. The teacher selected for him was Daikō Myōshū (d.1437), a Sōtō master of the Tsūgen lineage. Shōchū Shōtan studied under Daikō Myōshū until inheriting the entire Tsūgen line *kōan* curriculum. After Daikō's death Shōchū Shōtan continued training under several other Sōtō masters, all of whom belonged to the same subfaction within the Tsūgen line as had Daikō. Then he met Chikuba Kōtaku--a Sōtō teacher in the Tsūgen line, but of a different subfaction. Chikuba Kōtaku was no ordinary Sōtō master. Like Shōchū Shōtan, Chikuba also had crossed over between lineages. He had studied Rinzai Zen under

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[113]Ibid., 1009-10, 1012-17, 1022-25; and Tamamura Takeji, "Nanbokuchō-Muramachi jidai no tenkai: Kyōdan," in *Dōgenzen no rekishi*, Koza Dōgen, 2:96-98.

Ikkyū Sōjun, inheriting the *kōan* curriculum of the *Rinka* Daitokuji line. The Rinzai monk Shōchū Shōtan taught the secrets of his Sōtō *kōan* curriculum to the Sōtō master of a different line. In exchange, the Sōtō monk Chikuba Kōtaku taught the secrets of his Rinzai *kōan* curriculum to a Rinzai master of a different line. In essence, each had become dharma heir to the other.

Tamamura Takeji, from this example and others, asserts that by the fifteenth century the distinctions between Rinzai and Sōtō had totally broken down, that the monks had remained aware only of the rivalries between different lineages, and that two Sōtō lineages would have been just as distant from each other as if one had been Rinzai and the other Sōtō.[114] Tamamura's characterization is accurate insofar as every lineage had its own secret teachings and special oral teachings. In terms of self awareness and religious goals, however, different Sōtō lineages remained united in their belief that each faithfully maintained and transmitted Dōgen's teachings. Even in studying the same *kōan*, the interpretations taught in Rinzai and Sōtō lineages were not necessarily similar. Bassui Tokushō, for example, had been extremely critical of Sōtō teachers, stating that their intellectual approach prevented them from even dreaming of the depths of the realization taught in Rinzai lines.[115] Medieval Sōtō writings, regardless of lineage, contain frequent references to Dōgen, some openly asserted that the Sōtō tradition had its own approach to *kōan* training. Yet the understanding of Dōgen's teachings transmitted in these Sōtō lineages was greatly

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[114]Ibid.

[115]Tsūhō Meidō, *Bassui oshō gyōjitsu*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 9:640b.

misinformed. Statements in Sōtō *kōan* manuals (such as ". . . the hundred twenty items listed in these certificates [are] the dharma bequeathed at Tiandong [i.e., Rujing's monastery], [they are] the secrets of Dōgen . . .")[116] clearly demonstrate that Sōtō monks had confused Rinzai-style *kōan* curriculums as being part of Dōgen's Zen.

The Beginnings of Medieval Sōtō Kōan Literature

Three factors assume special significance for encouraging the development of medieval Sōtō *kōan* literature. First, early records of Dōgen's teachings contain elements similar to Rinzai style *kōan* training. Second, medieval Sōtō monks believed that Dōgen had transmitted a Rinzai lineage. Third, Kyōō Unryū and other Hottō line Rinzai monks attributed Rinzai-style teachings to Dōgen and Keizan.

The first of these three factors, namely Rinzai-style interpretations of Dōgen's teachings, can be seen even in Kyōgō's *Shōbō genzōshō*. In this commentary Kyōgō identified one of Dōgen's remarks as the "appended words" (*agyo*) for the previous Chinese expression.[117] "Appended words" consist of stereotyped Chinese phrases that the student monks must supply for every aspect (Chinese term or Zen concept) of each *kōan*. Kyōgō had severely criticized Japanese Rinzai *kōan* training, but he still believed it important to identify which of Dōgen's phrases

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[116] *Kosoku sanzen narabi ni kirikami* (copied 1713), as cited by Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron," pt. 1, *KBK*, 41 (1983): 345. Two texts in particular, the *Nyo Gen kakugaishū* and the *Nankoku rōshi sanjūshikan*, contain detailed description of the thirty-four *kōan* supposedly taught by Rujing to Dōgen on 1225:9:18, and by Dōgen to Ejō on 1252:1:15. See Ishikawa Rikizan, "'Eiheiji himitsu chōō zanmaiki' saikō," *KBRS*, 12 (1981): 192-93.

[117] *Shōbō genzōshō*, fasc. 15, "Shoaku makusa" chap., in *SBGZST*, 12:622. Although this passage occurs within the *Kikigaki* (i.e., Senne's) section of the *Goshō*, the words beginning *"hisoka ni iwaku"* are believed to be Kyōgō's remarks.

could be used for *kōan* answers. As mentioned above, Ejō's *Zuimonki* also contains a long passage in which Dōgen comments upon two *kōan* by supplying alternative responses, appended sayings and by identifying pivot words.[118] The fact that Dōgen identified these aspects of the *kōan* might have resulted more from Ejō's line of questioning (and from Ejō's Darumashū background) than from Dōgen's usual style of teaching.[119] Yet the significance of these remarks remains unchanged regardless of whether Dōgen or Ejō prompted them. In the eyes of medieval Sōtō monks they would have suggested that Dōgen taught Rinzai-style *kōan* training. Similarly, the passage in the *Goyuigon* recording Gikai's appended sayings for *shinjin datsuraku* also would have suggested that the Sōtō dharma transmission taught by Dōgen and Ejō required *kōan* initiation.[120] Regardless of the historical problems of interpreting the passages, they would have fostered the belief that the Dōgen Zen transmitted by Kyōgō, Ejō, and Gikai included Rinzai-style techniques for giving stereotyped answers to *kōan*.

Further parallels with Rinzai-style *kōan* training are suggested by the early dissemination of Dōgen's Chinese-language (i.e., *"shinji"*) *Shōbō genzō*. As mentioned earlier (see chapter 2), no conclusive evidence exists from which to gauge the extent that Dōgen had used this *kōan* collection for directly teaching his own students. Yet by the time Giun became abbot of Eiheiji (ca.1314), however, the Chinese-language

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[118]Sec. 2, in *Koten bungaku-81*, 335-37; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:430-31. Also see the section on Dōgen earlier in this chapter.

[119]Ishikawa Rikizan, "'Shōbō genzō zuimonki' to Nihon Darumashū," pt. 1, *SG*, 24 (1982): 37-43; and pt. 2, *SG*, 25 (1983): 43-48.

[120]*Goyuigon*, entry dated 1255:1:13 (referring to 1255:1:7), in *SBGZST*, 20:826; alt. *DZZ*, 2:503. Also see chap. 3 (sec. on Gikai).

Shōbō genzō had become a major *kōan* sourcebook for Sōtō monks. Giun's *goroku* cites *kōan* not from the Chinese texts popularly used at other Japanese monasteries but directly from this *Shōbō genzō*.[121] Moreover, every complete version of the Chinese-language *Shōbō genzō* discovered thus far includes a preface dated 1235 supposably written by Dōgen.[122] Many modern Sōtō scholars have rejected the authenticity of this preface because it identifies the goal of this *kōan* collection as the acquiring new Zen students who will compare with the great masters of the past. If Dōgen had written such a preface, it would prove that he had intended these three hundred one *kōan* to be studied by his students. Regardless of whether or not Dōgen actually wrote this preface, the fact that all versions of the Chinese-language *Shōbō genzō* attribute this preface to Dōgen demonstrates that medieval Sōtō monks certainly believed that he had. This preface suggested to medieval Sōtō monks that their *kōan* training adhered to Dōgen's teachings.

Medieval Sōtō monks also believed that Dōgen had inherited a Rinzai dharma lineage. An early Sōtō history, the *Daison gyōjōki*, states that Dōgen was the tenth generation in the Oryū (Ch. Huonglong) line of Rinzai Zen, which he had inherited from Myōzen at Kenninji.[123] Keizan's biography of Dōgen recorded in the *Denkōroku* does not mention Rinzai dharma transmission, but it does assert that Dōgen had been thoroughly versed in Rinzai Zen.[124] Kenzei (the fifteenth century Sōtō

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[121]Ishii, "'Giun oshō goroku' no in'yō tenseki," 101. Also see chap. 3 (sec. on Jakuen).

[122]Kawamura, "Shinji 'Shōbō genzō' no kenkyū," pt. 2, 97-98.

[123]*SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:12.

[124]*Denkōroku*, patriarchs 44, 51, pp. 92, 110.

historian) stated that Dōgen became Myōzen's heir on the thirteenth day of the ninth month of 1221.[125] A sixteenth-century *kōan* manual that purports to record the history of *kōan* study in Japanese Sōtō Zen adds that Dōgen not only had succeeded to Myōzen's line but also had sealed the dharma transmission with a ritual mixing of their blood.[126]

Modern Sōtō scholars would anathematize any suggestion that Dōgen had a proper Rinzai dharma lineage. No one, however, disputes Myōzen's importance in Dōgen's development. Dōgen had studied under Myōzen's guidance for more than eight years, from 1217 (when Dōgen first left Mt. Hiei) until the latter's death in 1225.[127] Moreover, Dōgen had received Eisai's precept lineage from Myōzen. In turn, Dōgen transmitted this Rinzai-line precept lineage to Shinchi Kakushin.[128] In his writings and lectures, Dōgen uses the expression "my former teacher" (*senshi*) to refer to only two teachers, Rujing and Myōzen.[129] Regardless of the actual nature of Dōgen's relationship to Myōzen, there is no doubt that medieval Sōtō monks saw it as one of master and disciple. It was the precedent that justified medieval Sōtō monks in their own study under Rinzai teachers.

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[125]*Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 11.

[126]*Shūmon no ichi daiji innen*, as cited by Ishikawa Rikizan, "Minokuni Ryūtaiji shozō no monsan," pt. 2, 195.

[127]Kagamishima Genryū, "Eisai-Dōgen sōken mondai," 49-50; and Nakaseko, *DZD*, 136-58.

[128]*Sankoku shōden bosatsukai kechimyaku* (1235:8:15), retitled *"Ju Rikan kaimyaku,"* in *DZZ*, 2:289; and Shinchi Kakushin, *Kakushin ju Shin'yu kaimyaku* (1290:9:10), retitled *"Ju Kakushin kaimyaku,"* in *DZZ*, 2:291.

[129]Nakaseko, *DZD*, 140, 152, 157-58 nn. 1-2.

We must also consider the possible influence of Kyōō Unryō and other Hottō-line Rinzai monks who attributed Rinzai teachings to Dōgen and Keizan. The exact process of this influence cannot be reconstructed from the documents available at this time. It is certain, however, that from a very early date Hottō-line Rinzai monks were copying *kōan* texts attributed to Dōgen, Keizan and other leading Sōtō teachers. Sōtō monks also transmitted various versions of the texts attributed to Dōgen and Keizan. These Hottō-line texts probably originated with Kyōō Unryō. This speculation is founded upon the following facts.

Kyōō Unryō occupied Daijōji's abbotship for as long as twenty years. When he left Daijōji to found his own temples, Kyōō removed several items that had once belonged to Keizan. These included a copy of the *Ichiya hekiganroku* and Keizan's coir fly whisk (*shuro hossu*). After Kyōō's death his disciples returned both of these to Meihō at Daijōji.[130] This act reveals that Kyōō's disciples sought to restore friendly relations between the two dharma lines. Kyōō's biographies also report that Kyōō had authored several Zen texts, including the *Kana kenshōshō* (Japanese-Language Treatise on Perceiving Reality) and the *Shōbō genzōgo* (Shōbō genzō Kōans).[131] Texts with these titles attributed to Unryō have not survived. Instead, a 1446 Hottō-line

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[130]Meihō Sotetsu, *Daijōji Sotetsu uketorijō* (1345:10:18), in *Komonjo*, no. 1408, 2:410. This account appears to contradict the statement in the *Kenzeiki* (in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 126) that the *Ichiya hekiganroku* was moved to Daijōji from Eiheiji in 1340. The *Enpō dentōroku* (fasc. 15, in *NBZ*, 108:212b), however, states that Unryō had taken possession of Keizan's own handwritten recopy of this text. If Unryō took Keizan's recopy of the *Ichiya hekiganroku* text stored at Eiheiji (traditionally said to have been Dōgen's copy), then the discrepancy between Meihō and Kenzei's accounts can be accounted for. The *Hekiganroku* seems not to have been published in Japan until 1317.

[131]Ungai Shōton, *Fusō zenrin sōbōden* (1675), fasc. 6, in *NBZ*, 109:251a; and Mangen Shiban, *Honchō kōsōden*, fasc. 26, in *NBZ*, 102:366b.

related manuscript stored at Roku Jizōji (Ibaraki Pref.) includes a spurious text attributed to Dōgen titled *Kenshōron*.[132] All subsequent manuscript versions of this text attributed to Dōgen have the same title as Kyōō's treatise: *Kana kenshōshō*.[133] Likewise, the biography of Keizan Jōkin compiled by the Rinzai monk Mangen Shiban similarly attributes authorship of a *Shōbō genzōgo* to Keizan.[134] Sōtō sources, however, mention no text of that name by Keizan. Instead, there is a spurious commentary on ten Chinese *kōan* attributed to him by the title of *Himitsu shōbō genzō* (Secret Shōbō genzō).[135] That *Himitsu shōbō genzō* also is found among the Hottō-line manuscripts stored at Roku Jizōji.[136] Moreover, those same ten Chinese *kōan* in the same order but without the commentary attributed to Keizan were taught within the secret *kōan* curriculum of some Sōtō lineages under the title *Jūsoku shōbō genzō* (Ten-Kōan Shōbō genzō).[137] This *kōan* collection probably originated within Kyōō's line, after which it became associated with Keizan in a few Sōtō lineages. Without more manuscripts, however, we

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[132]*Eihei Dōgen oshō kenshōron* (copied 1448 by Hōzan), included in *Mumei sasshi* (ca.1468), as cited by Shiina Kōyū, "Roku Jizōji shozō 'Mumei sasshi' ni tsuite," 171-72.

[133]Shiina Kōyū, "'Eihei kaisan Dōgen oshō kana hōgo' ni tsuite," *SG*, 18 (1976): 103-8.

[134]Mangen Shiban (1626-1710), *Honchō kōsōden* (1702), fasc. 24, in *ZSZ*, 10, *Shiden-jishi*, 732.

[135]The editors of *JDZ* ("Kaidai," p. 45) suggest that the *Shōbō genzōgo* mentioned by Mangen Shiban and the *Himitsu shōbō genzō* are the same text.

[136]Ōkubo Dōshū, "Himitsu shōbō genzō," in *Kaidai*, 117.

[137]Ishikawa Rikizan, "'Himitsu shōbō genzō' saikō," *SG*, 21 (1979): 173-78. The complete text of the Ryutaiji *Jūsoku shōbō genzō* is included in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Minokuni Ryūtaiji shozō no monsan shiryō ni tsuite," pt. 3, *KBK*, 39 (1971): 232-35.

cannot establish the identity of the texts attributed to Kyōō.

Extant manuscripts demonstrate that Hottō-line monks freely mixed Rinzai and Sōtō teachings in such a way as to blur any distinctions between them. The Hottō-line manuscript *Mumei sasshi* (ca.1468) is a prime example of this process.[138] This manuscript contains excerpts from writings attributed to early Japanese Sōtō and Hottō teachers and short treatises from the Chinese line of Zhongfeng Mingben. Nothing is known of the monk who compiled this collection, but the content of the text indicates that he must have believed that all three of these lines taught similar approaches to *kōan* training. The text quotes two Hottō-line masters: Shinchi Kakushin on the proper approach to the "Mu" *kōan* and Bassui Tokushō on the importance of creating the doubt (*gidan*) that will evoke the enlightenment experience of perceiving reality (i.e., *kenshō*). The text quotes various Chinese masters on the importance concentrating on *kōan*, creating doubt, and pursuing *kenshō*. These quotations are consistent with the other known writings of these respective Zen teachers. The quotations attributed to Sōtō masters, however, cannot be accepted at face value. The authenticity of the section attributed to Dōgen, the *Kenshōron* mentioned above, can be doubted on the basis of its title alone, since Dōgen had rejected even the word *"kenshō."* In content, it comprises fifteen parts--each part an exposition of a key concept within the Rinzai tradition. For example, the terms *richi*, *kikan*, and *kōjō* are explained in terms similar to the description by Nanpo Shōmyō quoted earlier in

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[138]Information in this paragraph is based upon the following articles by Shiina Kōyū in which most of this text is published and examined: "Roku Jizōji shozō 'Mumei sasshi,'" 160-74; "Keizan Zenji ni kansuru sanshū no 'kana hōgo' kō," 876-929; "'Eihei kaisan Dōgen oshō kano hōgo' ni tsuite," 103-8.

this chapter and long passages are devoted to the concepts of doubt and *kenshō*.[139] Obviously, Dōgen could not have composed the explanations found in this text. This *Mumei sasshi* is significant, however, because it demonstrates that within two centuries of Dōgen's death, Rinzai monks already believed that Dōgen had taught Rinzai-style *kōan* training.

The section attributed to Keizan likewise presents problems of reliability. In structure, this section comprises four parts. The first three parts emphasize the primacy of Zen meditation in a manner consistent with the teachings of Dōgen and Keizan that have been described earlier. For example, the text explicitly asserts that even the most stupid or unlearned person becomes at one with all existence and with all Buddhas when sitting in Zen meditation, because Zen meditation itself is the enlightenment of the Buddhas.[140] The final portion of the text, however, asserts the importance of striving for enlightenment. It exhorts one to arouse great doubt with all one's strength in order to attain enlightenment. This last section clearly contradicts the earlier portion of the text. Keizan had consistently rejected any Zen practice based upon the pursuit of enlightenment and had argued for the primacy of purposeless meditation. Significantly, this fourth part of the text attributed to Keizan actually closely resembles the writings of Bassui Tokushō--the Hottō line advocate of

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[139]See *Eihei kaisan Dōgen dai oshō kana hōgo* (1657; rpt. 1659), in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 68-79. For a comparison of this version with the nearly identical *Kenshōron* text, see Shiina Kōyū, "'Eihei kaisan Dōgen oshō kano hōgo' ni tsuite," 105-6.

[140]*Nōshū Tōkoku kaisan hōgo*, in *Mumei sasshi*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 57a.

kenshō Zen.[141] In this case as well, Rinzai doctrines had been confused with Japanese Sōtō traditions. These examples in the *Mumei sasshi* suggest the possibility of a similar process among some Sōtō lineages.

Sōtō Kōan Literature

Medieval Japanese Sōtō Zen *kōan* literature comprises several different formats. In addition to the secret *kōan* manuals (*monsan*) mentioned earlier, extensive records of medieval *kōan* study exist in secret initiation documents (*kirikami*) and in transcriptions of monastic lectures (*kikigakishō*). The paucity of surviving documentary evidence presents many difficulties in analyzing the full range of this literature. A brief review of each of these *genre* will reveal not only the techniques of *kōan* instruction, but also the role of *kōan* study within medieval Sōtō practice.

Kōan Manuals: *Monsan*

Monsan (i.e., *kōan* manuals) detail the curriculum, questions and expected responses for each *kōan.* Each medieval Sōtō lineage regarded the questions and answers that had been devised by their own past masters as closely guarded secrets. *Monsan*, therefore, were transmitted in secret. This process is explained in one *monsan* that distinguishes between two types of private instructions offered during the ninety-day training sessions. The Zen master would meet privately with all the monks in the morning (*chōsan*) regardless of lineage affiliation. Mornings were for open instruction, the *Yang*, the revealed words. In contrast, instruction during the evening (*yasan*) concerned

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141Shiina Kōyū, "Keizan Zenji ni kansuru sanshū no 'kana hōgo' kō," 887-88.

the private matters, the *Yin*, the secret words. Only future dharma heirs would receive evening instruction.[142] For these future heirs, possession of a complete record of their lineage's *kōan* curriculum could be used as proof of their succession to that dharma line. For this reason, until recently copies of these *monsan* could be obtained only with great difficulty.

At present most of the *monsan* available to scholars belong to lines descendant from Tsūgen Jakurei (i.e., the largest Sōtō faction).[143] Within this one faction, different branch lineages exhibit wide variations in both curriculum and answers for the *kōan*. The branch lines descendant from Ryōan Emyō (1337-1411) emphasize nonverbal responses (i.e., *kikan*), while the branch lines descendant from Sekioku Shinryō (1345-1423) emphasize analysis (i.e., *richi*).[144] Consider, for example, the answers for the *kōan* concerning Śākyamuni Buddha holding up a flower (the first *kōan* in the *Jūsoku shōbō genzō* mentioned above). Student monks within the Ryōan line would have imitated the walk of a small child to express the meaning of the holding up of a flower, while the Sekioku-line teachers merely explained that the meaning of the *kōan* is within the hands holding the flower, not within the flower itself.[145] These variations limit our ability to generalize the interpretations of

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[142]*Shūmon no ichi daiji innen*, as cited by Ishikawa Rikizan, "Minokuni Ryūtaiji shozō no monsan," pt. 2, 195-96.

[143]Kaneda, *Tōmon shōmono to kokugo kenkyū*, 157.

[144]Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Zenshū kyōdan no tenkai to Zenseki shōmono shiryō," in *Bukkyō no rekishiteki tenkai ni miru sho keitai*, ed. Furuta Shōkin Hakase Koki Kinenkai (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1981), 414-17.

[145]*Jūsoku shōbō genzō*, (a) Ryōan-line text, and (b) Sekioku-line text, as cited by: Ishikawa Rikizan, "'Himitsu shōbō genzō' saikō," 177-78.

particular *kōan* from the limited surviving *monsan*. Yet, we can discover the answers employed in many different Sōtō lineages, because *monsan* often cite answers from several dharma lineages in addition to those of their own line. Answers from most Sōtō lineages appear in these texts, indicating that *kōan* study with stereotyped answers extended well beyond the Tsūgen line.[146]

In general *monsan* follow a standard question-and-answer format. First the *kōan* is identified by name only. If the *kōan* is well known, this presents no problem for present-day Zen scholars. If the *kōan* is obscure, however, often it is impossible to know which *kōan* is intended. Following each name, there are one, two or a series of questions to be asked by the teacher (usually introduced by the word *"shi"*). The questions might include requests to explain the meaning of key terms in the *kōan*, to provide an appropriate Chinese verse or phrase (*agyo* or *jakugo*) that would express that same meaning, to explain (*seppa;* abb. *"ha"*) the meaning of that Chinese phrase, or to sum up the basic meaning or purpose of the *kōan* as a whole (*rakkyo* or *hikkyō*). After each one of these questions the expected response will be indicated. Occasionally, a text might explicitly indicate that the student monk (*gaku*) is to respond. More often, the text indicates that the teacher substitutes for (*dai*) the monk. In Chinese Zen (Chan) literature, the term *"dai"* ([to speak] in place of) usually introduces an alternative answer to an old question or introduces the master's own answer for a question to which no monk in the assembly would respond. In medieval Sōtō *kōan* literature, however, *"dai"* always indicates that the teacher is

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[146]Kaneda, *Tōmon shōmono to kokugo kenkyū*, 142-43, 156; and Ishikawa Rikizan, "Hizen En'ōji shozō no monsan shiryō ni tsuite," *IBK*, 29:2 (March 1981), 362a.

supplying the correct answer in order to instruct his student, not in order to replace the answer in the original text. An example will clarify this distinction between these two uses of *"dai."* The *Biyanlu* contains the following *gong'an:*

> Yunmen [Jpn. Unmon], lecturing to the assembly, said: "The old Buddha and the bare pillar intermingle. What functioning is this?"
> Speaking for (*dai*) himself [he answered]: "In the south mountains clouds arise; in the north mountains, rain falls."[147]

In one Sōtō *monsan* this example is cited by the title, "Unmon's old Buddha [and] bare pillar." The *monsan* lists the following questions and answers:

> Teacher (*shi*): As for the old Buddha?
> Substituting (*dai*) [for the student]: This one person.
> Teacher: As for the bare pillar?
> Substitute: A five-foot object [of perception].
> Teacher: When the rains disperse and the clouds draw together?
> Substitute: The very burning away of body and mind (*shinjin* [i.e., subject and object]).
> Teacher: An appended verse (*jakugo*)?
> Substitute: [in Chinese]
> The night moon glitters in the cold pool;
> The autumn wind penetrates the skull bone.
> Teacher: Explain (*seppa*) [its meaning].
> Substitute: Mind and object are one.[148]

Throughout this entire session the student monk apparently would have made no response. The students expected only to become conversant with the many nuances of each *kōan*. They did not have to create new responses. The surviving *monsan* reveal few, if any, signs of the students having been expected to struggle with each *kōan* on their own.

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[147]Fasc. 9, example 83, in *T.* 48:208c-9a. The Yunmen referred to in this example is Yunmen Wenyan.

[148]*Isshūha honsan* [tentative title], copied 1625:8:8 by Sonsa (n.d.), leaf 16b, as cited by Kaneda Hiroshi, *Tomon shōmono to kokugo kenkyū* (1976), 158.

Sōtō *kōan* study, however, was not confined to linguistic analysis. In accordance with the traditional emphasis upon embodying Zen teachings within one's actions, Ryōan-line *monsan* repeatedly call for physical gestures in response to the teacher's questions. For example, a *monsan* from this faction lists the following questions and answers:

> What is: Tōzan's 'The inanimate preach the dharma'?
> Student: Cough, [then] sit. Wait, saying nothing. [Then,] Thump the cushion two or three times.
> Teacher: That's still too weak.
> Student: With fists, strike the straw mat.
> This is the teaching (*san*) of Tokuō [Hōryū].[149]

In emphasizing actions as the best means of expressing the meaning of each *kōan*, this Sōtō *monsan* closely resemble the *kōan* manuals (*missanroku*) handed down within Rinzai lines. On this point, Tamamura Takeji is correct in his assertion that *Rinka* lines--Rinzai and Sōtō--shared the same approach to *kōan* training. In terms of the interpretations attached to these *kōan*, however, significant distinctions appear in the Sōtō approach. For example, the same Ryōan-line *monsan* just cited also includes the following passage:

> How does [one] sit atop a hundred-foot pole?
> Substitute: Sitting in [total] forgetfulness.
> Question: How does [one's] whole body appear in all directions?
> Substitute: Jumping up; falling down.
> Question: A verse?
> *Shinjin datsuraku / Datsuraku shinjin.*[150]

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[149] *Hodaji honsan*, as cited by Ishikawa Rikizan, "Mino kuni Ryūtaiji shozō no monsan," pt. 1, *KBK*, 37 (1969): 263. Also see *Jingde chuandenglu*, fasc. 15, in *T*, 51:321b.

[150] *Hodaji honsan*, leaf 5a, example 39, from an unpublished manuscript cited with permission. Regarding this manuscript, see Ishikawa Rikizan, "Mino kuni Ryūtaiji shozō no monsan," pt. 1, 261-63; and Kaneda, *Tōmon to kokugo kenkyū*, 325. The original reads as follows: "*Hyakushaku kantō ni zashi yō wo? Dai, bōnen to shite zasu. Iwaku, jippō gen zenshin wo? Dai, odoridaosu. Iwaku, ku wo? Shinjin datsuraku; datsuraku shinjin.*"

This commentary asserts that Zen meditation, in and of itself, is the experience of the totality of existence as enlightenment. The "top of a hundred-foot pole" is a common Zen expression for the goal of Zen training, or enlightenment. In this case, that enlightenment is conceived of as the activity of sitting in Zen meditation without any special mental effort. Although sitting normally is static, in this passage it is paired with the activity of one's body becoming manifest everywhere. This means that Zen meditation is the experiencing of all reality as a dynamic momentness ("jumping up, falling down"), or as *shinjin datsuraku* (i.e., reality itself).

This phrase (i.e., *shinjin datsuraku*) seems to have been widely used as a concluding verse in Sōtō *monsan*.[151] Due to the brevity of most citations, however, it is extremely difficult to determine the extent to which medieval Sōtō understandings of that term might have varied from either its use in Dōgen's writings or modern definitions. Another *monsan* (from a different line within the Ryōan faction), however, leaves no doubt that even in *kōan* study Sōtō monks had consciously emulated Dōgen. This *monsan* introduces its series of *kōan* with an explicit assertion that Sōtō Zen monks must conform to Sōtō traditions and to Dōgen's teachings.[152] The text begins with a historical definition of the Sōtō line and then differentiates proper Sōtō practices from the Zen taught in other lines. Significantly, this *monsan* also asserts the primacy of Zen meditation:

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[151]Hirose Ryōkō, "Daiyūzan Saijōji no kaisan Ryōan Eimei no 'Daigo,'" *SG*, 25 (1983): 116.

[152]*Shūmon no ichi daiji innen*, as cited by Ishikawa Rikizan, "Minokuni Ryūtaiji shozō no monsan," pt. 2, 195.

The Sōtō school derives from the line of Sekitō,[153] [which in turn] derived from the first patriarch, Engaku Daishi Daruma [i.e., Bodhidharma]. The sixth patriarch, master Enō [Huineng], while working as a rice polisher within the assembly of the fifth patriarch, Kōnin,[154] considered this matter [i.e., enlightenment] day and night without interruption even while drinking tea or eating rice. As his exertion (*kufū*) gradually matured, he naturally penetrated into [the realm of] fundamental wisdom. This "penetrating" (*tō'nyū*) does not refer to his having smashed through all objects [of perception]. Without loss of the realm of objects, he had attained the mind of wisdom. This "mind of wisdom" (*shinchi*) is the [realization of one's] original face without thought of good, without thought of evil [i.e., reality itself, beyond mundane thoughts]. When Seigen[155] had grasped this doctrine, the sixth patriarch accepted him as [his disciple]. Sekitō, then, was the successor to Seigen. From the teachings bequeathed by them there must not be even the slightest deviation. . . .
. . . to display authority with shouts and with [blows of the] staff are great hindrances. Among the ancients, [only] one in ten thousand had believed in such practices. Since [even] the first Japanese patriarch, Master Dōgen of Eiheiji, had strongly rejected these, [likewise] how much more [strongly] should [the] unlearned monks of this later age who have not yet forgotten [their worldly] knowledge, and who have not yet cast off [their] discriminating intellect [do so]. If one believes in such practices, not only will he fall like an arrow into hell, but he also will completely lose the true teaching [i.e., Buddhism]. People born into this corrupt, turbulent end of the final age [of Buddhism], having minds full of dreams and delusions, should merely sit in meditation according to the old [Zen monastic] codes. Throughout the twelve periods of the day, they should realize this matter [i.e., enlightenment] through *shinjin datsuraku.*

The fact that this text encourages monks to practice Zen meditation according to the old monastic regulations is significant both in terms of contemporary conditions and in terms of later Sōtō developments. In Rinzai monasteries of that time (i.e., late 16th to early 17th centuries) regulated group meditation had practically died out due (first) to the emphasis given to private instruction in the abbot's quarters and (second) to the loss of most meditation halls to

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[153] I.e., Shitou Xiqian (700-790).

[154] I.e., Hongren (Jpn. Kōnin or Gunin; 601-674).

[155] I.e., Qingyuan Hangsi (d.740).

fires. The first Rinzai meditation hall built since the fifteenth century was not constructed until 1784. Sōtō scholars usually assert that observance of monastic regulations declined until revived in the early eighteenth century after the arrival of Ming-dynasty Chinese monks.[156] This *monsan* demonstrates, however, that meditation according to the old regulations continued in medieval Sōtō.

Initiation Documents: *Kirikami*

After *monsan*, the second prime source for descriptions of medieval Sōtō *kōan* is the *kirikami* (i.e., secret initiation documents) traditionally handed down within many Sōtō lineages. *Kirikami* are texts varying in length from one sheet of paper to bound volumes upon which are recorded instructions for the performance of ritual or special commentary on secret teachings. In medieval Japan, *kirikami* were used for teaching almost any endeavor centered upon private master-disciple lineages, such as: theatrical performance, poetry composition, martial arts, native religious traditions and especially Buddhism.[157] Sōtō school *kirikami* generally performed two functions. First, mere possession of them served as yet another testament to one's religious authority. Second, they served as supplements to or replacements for

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[156]Yokoyama, *Zen no kenchiku*, 177-79.

[157]Examples of these are found in Tamura Yoshirō, "Tendai hongaku shisō gaisetsu," in *Tendai hongakuron*, ed. Tada Kōryū, Ōkubo Ryōjun, Tamura Yoshiro and Asai Endō, Nihon Shisō Taikei, 9 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1973), 544-48.

the Chinese monastic codes (*shingi*) that governed Zen monastic life.[158] Whereas the Chinese codes detailed the regulation of monastic offices for the operation of large monasteries, the initiation documents describe the meaning and correct procedures of the private rituals conducted by the abbot alone, such as techniques for performing consecrations, funerals, transfers of merit, dharma transmissions, and precept initiations. Another important distinction concerns the origin of non-Buddhist elements. In the monastic codes these almost always reflect Chinese Confucian influences; but non-Buddhist elements in the initiation documents derive from Japanese folk beliefs and magical practices.

Kirikami often include documents depicting many aspects of *kōan* study since *kōan* initiation represents one type of monastic rituals. These *kōan*-initiation documents treat the same subject matter as the full-length *monsan* described above. In contrast to the *monsan*, the *kirikami* always are more narrowly focused and of shorter length. For example, a fairly common type of document (known as *sanmi no kirikami*) explains the structure of the *kōan* curriculum.[159] These *kirikami* differ from the *monsan* (which list questions and answers for each *kōan*) in only listing the names of the *kōan* to be studied with headings and subheadings, as well as connecting lines to show the relationship between each category of *kōan*.

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[158]Regarding monastic codes (Ch. *qinggui;* Jpn. *shingi*), see Martin Collcutt, "The Early Ch'an Monastic Rule: *Ch'ing kuei* and the Shaping of Ch'an Community Life," in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, ed. Whalen Lai and Lewis R. Lancaster, Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series, 5 (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983), 165-84; and *Five Mountains*, 133-49.

[159]Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui," pt. 5, 102.

Other *kirikami* describe the correct series of questions and answers for just a single *kōan*. The *kōan* (often referred to as "*sanwa*") in these documents were not part of the general training curriculum, but were reserved for special occasions. Within some lines, each new dharma heir would be instructed in a series of questions and answers regarding the story of the first Zen transmission. This supposably occurred when Śākyamuni Buddha held up a flower (*nenge*) and his disciple Mahākāśyapa smiled.[160] In early examples of *sanwa kirikami*, often the topic in question concerns general Buddhist doctrines, such as Buddha nature or the eight types of consciousness.[161] Later, during the Tokugawa period these general topics receded in importance as more emphasis was placed upon *sanwa* that concerned special statements of Sōtō doctrine, such as the sayings of Hongzhi Zhengjue or *shinjin datsuraku*.

Even *kirikami* that described ritual or the meaning of ritual implements often adapted the same question-and-answer format as used for *kōan* study.[162] For example, one *kirikami* that describes the seven main Zen monastic buildings (which the abbot would tour both during his

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160*Denju no san: Nenge no wa*, version dated 1531, and additional version transmitted 1575:12:1 by [Shōgen] Sōju to [Eigen] Keishō, unpublished Yōkōji initiation D cited with permission. Regarding the identities and dates of the individuals named in Yōkōji initiation documents, see Hibe Noboru, "Aru shu no Tōmon shōmono: Noto Yōkōjizō kirikamirui kara," *Tsuru bunka daigaku bungaku ronkō*, 20 (1984): 89-90. The two *kirikami* cited above are not the only ones concerning this theme at Yōkōji, but are the oldest.

161See, for example, *Busshō no san*, transmitted 1575:12:1 by [Shōgen] Sōju to [Eigen] Keishō, retransmitted 1610:10:28 from Keishō to [Kyūgan] Tōeki; and *Hasshiki no sanwa*, unpublished Yōkōji initiation D cited with permission.

162Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui," pt. 2, *KBRS*, 14 (1983): 128.

inauguration ceremony and as part of his daily ritual) begins as follows:

Teacher: First, the abbot's building?
Substitute: Prior to the Great Ultimate (*taikyoku*) [there is] the abbot's building.
Teacher: Nothing exists prior to the Great Ultimate. How can [you] say that the abbot's building exists?
Substitute: This answer means that the master dwells in the place of non-being.
Teacher: [Express] that with a verse.
Substitute: No bright brightness / In darkness, no darkness.
Teacher: Next, the storehouse? . . .[163]

The document continues in the same format for each of the seven buildings. Likewise, another initiation document describes an incense burner as a symbol of the fleetingness of life:

Teacher: The evaluation (*sadame*) of an incense burner?
Student: Points at his own body.
Teacher: As for the burning incense?
Answer: Exhalations and inhalations.
Teacher: A verse?
[Answer:] Within one wisp of burning [incense]
Grasp this mind.[164]

This same question-and-answer style is used in an *kirikami* that purports to convey Rujing's instructions to Dōgen regarding the staff held by a Zen teacher while lecturing:

The teacher [Rujing] asked: "What is this one staff?"
Dōgen replied: "Everyone is [so] endowed."
The teacher said: "[Be] endowed! Look!"
Dōgen replied: "No-mind."
The teacher said: "Transcend words."
Dōgen then stood up. . . .[165]

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[163]*Shichidōsan*, copied by Ryūkoku Donshō, rpt. in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui," pt. 5, 99.

[164]*Kōro no san*, in *Bukke ichi daiji yawa*, rpt. in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui," pt. 2, 150.

[165]*Sōtōke Tendō Nyojō Zenji Dōgen oshō shihōron*, rpt. in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui," pt. 6, *KBRS*, 16 (1985): 121-22.

These *kirikami* in a *kōan*-style question-and-answer format are especially significant because they demonstrate the large degree to which the use of appended verses (*agyo* or *jakugo*) dominated religious training in medieval Sōtō Zen. Every object of daily use and each aspect of monastic life were analyzed from the standpoint of Zen dialectics in order to imbue it with a secret significance. The special language and techniques of *kōan* study had been extended beyond meditation training to permeate the attitudes of medieval Sōtō monks toward all religious practices, so that even rituals adapted from non-Zen traditions would be redefined in terms of Zen concepts.

Transcription Commentaries: *Kikigakishō*

In addition to the secret records on *kōan* found in *monsan* or *kirikami*, public records of medieval *kōan* study also exist in the form of informal transcriptions of lectures on *kōan* collections. The practice of producing bound editions of these informal transcriptions seems to have begun at Rinzai *Gozan* monasteries.[166] Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries Rinzai monks produced large numbers of informal commentaries on the major classics of Chinese secular literature.[167] At Sōtō monasteries very few commentaries on secular literature were produced. Instead Sōtō monks focused on Zen texts,

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[166]For an introduction to these commentaries as Zen literature (rather than as linguistic artifacts), see Tamamura Takeji, "Zen no tenseki," pt. 7a, "Shōmono" (1951), rpt. in *Nihon Zenshūshi ronshū*, 2:186-99.

[167] A representative product of the *Gozan* environment is the *Shikishō* (1477), 19 fascs., based on the lectures of the Rinzai monk Tōgen Zuisen (1430-1489) commenting upon the *Shiji*, the classic early history of China by Sima Qian (ca. B.C.E. 145-86). See *Shikishō*, Shōmono Shiryō Shūsei, 1, ed. Okami Masao and Ōtsuka Mitsunobu (Osaka: Seibundō, 1977), 646 pp.; and, Ōtsuka Mitsunobu, "Shikishō ni tsuite," in *Kaisetsu sakuin*, Shōmono Shiryō Shūsei, 7 (1976), 3-44.

especially on *kōan* collections. These commentaries offer many insights into medieval Zen life because they often convey minute details of the circumstances of each day's lecture. In spite of their historical value, however, records of medieval Zen lectures (especially the informal transcriptions considered here) have suffered a low literary reputation that has inhibited both their study and publication.

Japanese linguists only recently highlighted the value of medieval Zen *kikigakishō* when they discovered in them sources for studying the evolution of early colloquial Japanese. These linguists have designated the entire genre of medieval Zen informal writings as "Shō-texts" (*shōmono*), within which records of lectures usually designated as *kikigakishō* (transcription commentaries).[168] Not all works with titles ending in either of these terms, however, would necessarily fall within these categories. Only informal writings in which some of the rules of literary grammar were ignored are included. Senne and Kyōgō's *Gokikigakishō* commentary on Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*, for example, would be outside of this category because it had been composed by its authors as a formal treatise, without slang or colloquial expressions.

The characteristics of a true transcription commentary can be illustrated by the *Ninden genmokushō*, a record of lectures by Sensō Esai

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[168]The term *"shōmono"* is written with the same two Sino-Japanese ideographs as the more common word *"shōmotsu,"* with which it should not be confused. The latter word can designate any type of manuscripts. The term *"shōmono,"* however, is a technical term coined by modern Japanese linguists to refer to that genre (i.e., *"mono"*) of medieval Japanese colloquial-language texts with titles ending in the suffix *-shō* (i.e., "commentary"). Even medieval texts without *shō* in their titles, however, also are included within the same *"shōmono" genre* if written in the informal language. For a discussion of the meanings of *"shōmotsu"* versus *"shōmono,"* see Okami Masao and Ōtsuka Mitsunobu, "Hashigaki," in *Shikishō*, Shōmono Shiryō Shūsei, 1 (1971), [unnumbered].

on the *Rentian yanmu* (Jpn. *Ninden genmoku;* 1188, 6 fascs.) delivered 1471-1474. The transcription exists in three different versions, each probably recorded by a separate scribe.[169] Two of the transcriptions are similarly terse, in that the content of Sensō Esai's remarks is expressed in a few words as possible with no words separating the commentary from the original text or from mention of contemporaneous events. They resemble a modern college student's lecture notes rather than a complete transcription. In contrast to these, the third version is very detailed--extending to more than three times the length of either of the other two. The sources for each portion of the transcription are identified in full and the quotations are in the form of complete sentences. The differences between this third version and the other two are so striking that normally it would be reasonable to conclude that they must represent different series of lectures on the same text.[170] However, careful comparison of the contemporaneous events mentioned in all three versions reveal that each is a record of the same lectures given at the same time.[171] Therefore, the differences between each version must have resulted not from differences in the source lectures, but from different monks having recorded these lectures--one

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[169]These three versions are: [a] copied 1536, 3 fascs. bound as 2 vols., rpt. *Ninden genmokushō*, Matsugaoka Bunko Shozō Zenseki Shōmonoshū, 1st series, 10 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976); [b] copy once owned Shunpo Sōki (1416-1496), recopied ca. early 17th cent., 8 fascs.; [c] copy owned by Gyokukō Zuiyo, a.k.a. Kyūka (d. 1578), originally 3 fascs., missing fasc. no. 1; both "b" and "c" rpt. *Ninden genmokushō*, Shōmono Taikei, 7, ed. Nakata Iwao (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1972).

[170]This is the position originally argued by Furuta Shōkin, *Kaidai*, supplementary brochure to *Matsugaoka bunko shozō Zenseki shōmonoshū*, First Series (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1976), 44-45.

[171]Ishikawa Rikizan, "'Ninden genmokushō' ni tsuite," *IBK*, 26:2 (March 1978), 269-73.

of whom took more detailed notes.[172]

The topic of Sensō Esai's lectures, the *Rentian yanmu* (Guidelines of Gods and Men), was composed in 1188 by Huiyan Zhizhao (Jpn. Maigan Chishō) as a compendium of Zen terminology. Huiyan compiled the special sayings and teaching devices of famous Chan masters and divided them into categories arranged according to the five major Chinese Chan lineages. Dōgen had severely criticized the *Rentian yanmu* for its sectarian orientation.[173] It was published in Japan as early as 1303 by *Gozan* monks.[174] Thereafter, throughout the medieval period it was widely studied by both Rinzai and Sōtō monks as an introduction to Zen. Sensō Esai, in his own lectures, mentioned Dōgen's criticisms of the *Rentian yanmu*, stating that according to Dōgen the text does not "guide gods and men," but instead "blinds gods and men."[175] Yet the *Rentian yanmu*, as a distillation of Chinese Chan tradition, was too important a text for medieval Sōtō monks to ignore. It is the subject of transcription commentaries by several other Sōtō teachers in addition to Sensō Esai.[176]

The majority of medieval Sōtō *kikigakishō* record lectures not on Zen treatises such as the *Rentian yanmu*, but on *kōan* collections. As

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[172]This is the position originally adopted by Toyama Eiji, "Sensōkō 'Ninden genmokushō' ni tsuite," in *Ninden genmokushō*, Shōmono Taikei, 7 (1975), 32, 42.

[173]*SBGZ*, "Butsudō" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:387.

[174]Shiina Kōyū, "'Ninden genmoku' no shohon," *SG*, 20 (1978): 103-10.

[175]See Matsugaoka Bunko Shozō Zenseki Shōmonoshū, 1st series, 10:88; and, Shōmono Taikei, 7:20, 270. The exact words cited by Sensō are not found among Dōgen's remarks.

[176]Kaneda, *Tōmon shōmono to kokugo kenkyū*, 312-14.

in Rinzai lines, the *Hekiganroku* and *Mumonkan* were widely studied.[177] Transcriptions of Sensō Esai's lectures exist for both.[178] Likewise, there is an important commentary on the *Hekiganroku* recorded from the lectures of Daikū Genko (1428-1505).[179] Most Sōtō teachers, however, rather than following the order of the standard *kōan* collections, seem to have chosen the topics of their lectures according to their own inclinations. *Kōan* were selected mainly from the above two collections and from the *Zenrin ruijū* (Ch. *Chanlin leiju*, 1307), an exhaustive Chinese compilation of *gong'an* and the verses that had been used by Chinese teachers in commenting upon them. This text, first reprinted in Japan by 1367, fills twenty fascicles within which the *kōan* and verses are systematically arranged according to 102 thematic categories.[180] The *Shōyōroku* (Ch. *Zongronglu*, 1223), a *gong'an* collection compiled by two Chinese Caodong teachers, also occasionally appears in quotations. This text consists of two parts, the first being a verse commentary by Hongzhi Zhengjue on one hundred *kōan* and the second being the evaluations of these and additional verse commentary by Wansong Hangxiu (Jpn. Manshō Gyōshū; 1196-1246). Previous Sōtō scholars have assumed

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[177]Historically, more commentaries on the *Wumenguan* (Jpn. *Mumonkan*) have been produced by Japanese Sōtō than Rinzai teachers. See *Mumonkan*, ed. Nakao Ryōshin, Zenseki Zenpon Kochū Shūsei, 5, ed. Sakurai Shūyū (Tokyo: Meicho Fukyūkai, 1983), 319 pp.

[178]Kaneda, *Tōmon shōmono to kokugo kenkyū*, 39-60, 316. Recently a manuscript copy (dated 1666) of Esai's *Mumonkanshō* has been discovered among the papers once owned by the late Kishizawa Ian (1865-1955).

[179]*Hekigan Daikūshō*, Zenmon Shōmono Sōkan, 5, ed. Komazawa Daigaku Bungaku Kokubungaku Kenkyūshitsu (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1975).

[180]In Japan, the 20 fasc. edition of the *Chanlin leiju* is avaliable only in woodblock versions. The *Dai Nihon Zokuzōkyō* version (2:22:1) is a 4 fasc. abridgement. See Sakai Tokugen, "Kaidai," in *Zenrin ruijū satsuyōshō*, Zenmon Shōmono Sōkan, 7 (1975), 505-6.

that the *Shōyōroku* had been unknown in medieval Japan. This is mistaken, however, since mention of the text occurs in records of Sekioku Shinryō.[181] Moreover, there is a record of a Japanese copy of the *Shōyōroku* having been made in 1542. In general, however, it is true that the text was not widely studied by Japanese Sōtō monks until the Tokugawa period, after its 1607 Chinese reprint had become available.[182]

In lecturing upon Zen treatises, upon Chinese *kōan* collections, or upon their own selection of special topics, medieval Sōtō teachers all followed the same question-and-answer format that had been developed for private *kōan* initiations. First, the teacher would identify the topic or recite the *kōan*. Then, with a question, he would invite (*satsu*) the assembled monks to recite a verse summing up the meaning of that topic. Occasionally, monks did respond, but more often the teacher would supply his own verse in place of (*dai*) the monks. Finally, some teachers also would explain (*seppa*) the meaning of the verse. Usually, however, only the teacher's verse comments would be recorded without any explanations. For this reason, some teachers also would conduct a second series of lectures on the same series of *kōan* in which they would explain the meaning of the verses they had previously delivered.

For example, there are two versions of *kōan* lectures by Kokai Ryōtatsu (d.1599). The first, *Kokaidai* (Kokai's Alternate [Verses]), lists the text of each *kōan* in full with Kokai's questions and verse

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[181]See Ishō Tokugan (1360-1437), *Sekioku Zenji tōmei* (1434), in *SZ*, 17, *Shiden*, 2:283; and Ryōnen Eichō (1471-1551), *En'ō chūkō Ryōnen dai oshō hōgo*, as cited by: Ishikawa Rikizan, "'En'ō chūkō Ryōnen dai oshō hōgo' ni tsuite," *SG*, 23 (1981): 70a.

[182]Nagai Masashi, "Shōyōroku wo meguru sho mondai: Sono Nihon de no juyō ni tsuite," *IBK*, 31:1 (Dec. 1982), 223-26.

answers.[183] The second, *Kokaidaishō* (Kokai's Alternate-[Verse] Commentary), lists only the names of each *kōan*, but contains a full account of Kokai's explanations of each of his verses.[184] When the teacher lectured upon the verses (*dai*) originally given by someone other than himself usually, the resulting transcription would be titled with his own name and the word *"saigin"* (reexamination).

Even though the question-and-answer format was the same, crucial differences separate the verse answers for the *kōan* described in *monsan* or *kirikami* and those for the *kōan* described in *kikigakishō*. The answers in first group represent teachings that remain the same from generation to generation. In the *kikigakishō*, however, the *kōan* selected, the questions asked, and the verse answers each represent the mood and character of a given teacher at a particular moment. The questions and verse answers often commented as much on the days events as upon the *kōan* text in question. For example, Sensō Esai's verse comments in the *Ninden genmokushō* that were given on the seventeenth day of each month always contained a reference to the attributes of Kannon, the bodhisattva for whom special services were conducted on that day.[185] Likewise, Sensō's concluding verse given at the end of one ninety-day training session (after which the monks would be free to travel again) ordered: "Go! Go! Don't look back. What a small place [this is] on

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[183] *Kokaidai*, pub., 1653, 1 fasc., hand copied (1933) in Komazawa University Library, cited with permission.

[184] *Kokaidaishō*, Zenmon Shōmono Sōkan, 1. This text is extremely difficult to understand with consulting a copy of the unpublished *Kokaidai*.

[185] Ishikawa Rikizan, "'Ninden genmoku' ni tsuite," 271-72.

the great earth."[186] These answers represent a conscious effort by the teachers to make the *kōan* seem relevant to the monks' daily situations. Also, even though the teachers usually gave their own answers, the students were free to attempt (and some transcriptions include) individual interpretations. For a monk the attempt to freely respond in front of the whole assembly could be a crucial step in his training. In one case, Daian Shueki (1406-1473) accepted Zengan Tōjun (d.1495) as his dharma heir after the latter had been the only one able to give a suitable answer to a question posed to the entire assembly.[187]

Because of the spontaneity they record, *kikigakishō* in many ways represent a Japanese counterpart to the *goroku* (recorded sayings) *genre* of Chan literature that had developed in China.[188] As with the early Chan records, the Japanese *kikigakishō* record the colloquial language of the time, with many slang and nonliterary expressions. Both record the concrete comments of a living teacher as he delivered his lectures and responded to students' questions. Finally, *kikigakishō* resemble late style of *goroku* developed in the Song dynasty in that the lectures comprising the original source material invariably were delivered according to the monastic calendar described in the Chinese monastic codes (see figure 8).

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[186]Matsugaoka Bunko Shozō Zenseki Shōmonoshū, 1st series, vol. 10:95; and Shōmono Taikei, 7:28, 293.

[187]*Zoku Nichiiki Tōjō sho soden* (1708), ed. Tokuō Ryōkō, fasc. 3, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:118.

[188]Regarding this *genre*, see Yanagida Seizan, "The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism," trans. John R. McRae [originally, "Zenshū goroku no keisei" (1969)], in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, 185-205.

In one version of Sensō's *Ninden genmokushō*, for example, notes that the monks had just finished reciting the monastic code. The date given is the twenty-first day of the sixth month.[189] This date corresponds to Kenzei's assertion that Dōgen had ordered the group recitation of the rules for the monastery library (*shuryō*) on the twenty-first day of every month.[190] According to the monastic codes immediately after this recitation in the library, the monks would return to the monks' hall for another period of meditation. If this is the recitation referred to in *Ninden genmokushō*, then the meaning of Sensō's concluding verse for that day becomes easy to understand. Sensō had asked: "What is the intended meaning of the ancient worthies?," and then answered, "The great assembly [of monks] meditating in the [monks'] hall."[191] This statement can be interpreted as having directed the monks to leave the library and return to the monks' hall for meditation.[192] In this way, *kikigakishō* can reveal the interaction between training and daily events as the annual rites observed at medieval monasteries.

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[189]Shiryō Hensanjo Ms., rpt. Shōmono Taikei, 7:247.

[190]*Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 72.

[191]Matsugaoka Bunko Shozō Zenseki Shōmonoshū, 1st series, 10:82; and, Shōmono Taikei, 7:15, 247. The words of Sensō's comment are recorded somewhat differently in each of these three versions. Here I am following the Matsugaoka Bunko manuscript.

[192]Ishikawa Rikizan, "'Ninden genmokushō' ni tsuite," 272-73; and "Chūsei Zenshūshi kenkyū to Zenseki shōmono shiryō" (1981), rpt. in *Dōgen to Sōtōshū*, 85-87. An alternate interpretation of this passage has been suggested by Furuta, *Kaidai, Matsugaoka bunko shozō Zenseki shōmonoshū*, 1st series, 44-45.

FIGURE 8

COMPARISON OF ANNUAL LECTURE DATES IN MEDIEVAL SŌTŌ

Events Dates	*goroku:* Fusai Zenkyū (1347-1408)	*kikigakishō:* Ryōnen Eichō (1471-1551)	Kokai Ryōtatsu (d.1599)	Daien Monsatsu (d.1636)
Saitan (First Day of New Year)				
1: 1	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Genshō (First Moon) *Sōan* (End of Winter Training Session)				
1:15	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nehan (Buddha's Nirvāṇa)				
2:15	Yes	--	--	--
Kashaku (Admittance of New Monks)				
3:28	--	--	Yes	Yes
Busshō (Buddha's Birthday)				
4: 8	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hi'i (Adjustment of Monastic Senority)				
4:13	--	--	--	Yes
Ketsuge (Start of Summer Training Session)				
4:15	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Yasan hajime (First Evening Instruction)				
4:18	--	--	Yes	Yes
Tango (Midsummer)				
5: 5	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
(Full Moon)				
5:15	Yes	--	Yes	Yes
Kankin (Sūtra Recitation)				
5:28	--	--	--	Yes
(Full Moon)				
6:15	Yes	--	Yes	Yes
Kankin (Sūtra Recitation [For the Dead])				
7: 1	--	--	Yes	Yes

(see next page)

Figure 8. Comparison of Annual Lecture Dates (continued)

Events Dates	*goroku:* Fusai Zenkyū	*kikigakishō:* Ryōnen Eichō	Kokai Ryōtatsu	Daien Monsatsu
Shichiseki (Night of the Cowherd and Weaving Maid Stars)				
7: 7	--	--	Yes	Yes
Kaige (End of Summer Training Session)				
7:15	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Chūshū (Night of the Harvest Moon)				
8:15	--	--	Yes	Yes
Dōgenki (Memorial for Dōgen)				
8:28	--	--	--	Yes
Chinjuki (Service for Protective Spirits)				
9:19	--	--	--	Yes
Kairo (Openning of Hearth)				
10: 1	Yes	--	Yes	Yes
Darumaki (Memorial for Bodhidharma)				
10: 5	--	--	Yes	Yes
Kettō (Start of Winter Training Session)				
10:15	--	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nyūjō (Buddha's Trance)				
12: 1	--	--	Yes	Yes
Rohachi (Buddha's Enlightenment)				
12: 8	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nisoki (Memorial for Second Patriarch)				
12:10	--	Yes	--	--
Tōji (Midwinter)				
12:22	Yes	Yes	Yes	--
Joya (New Year's Eve)				
12:30	Yes	Yes	Yes	--

See *Fusai oshō jū Nōshū Shogakuzan Sōji Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:123-29; Ishikawa Rikizan, "'En'ō chūkō Ryōan dai oshō hōgo' ni tsuite," *SG*, 23 (1981): 68-72 [Note: Additional events probably are included in the original text, but not reported fully by Ishikawa]; Kokai Ryōtatsu, *Kokaidai*, unpublished manuscript in Komazawa University Library; and Kagamishima Genryū, "Kaidai," in *Daien daishō*, 2, Zenmon Shōmono Sōkan, 3:336-37.

The regular occurrence of lectures during the ninety-day meditation training sessions is particularly noteworthy. These lectures demonstrate that Zen training continued at Sōtō monasteries uninterrupted by the civil disturbances of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Japan.[193]

Medieval *kikigakishō*, however, differ from standard *goroku* in several ways. First, Japanese Zen teachers traditionally have written their own recorded sayings in imitation of the same format found in the Chinese records. Only addresses delivered on prescribed occasions--such as one's inauguration as abbot--would be included. Moreover, these addresses would have to be composed in Chinese. Even the ritual debate between the new abbot and the senior monks of the temple would be translated into Chinese for the record. Because of this artificial process, medieval recorded sayings often reveal very little of either the Zen teachings or the personalities of their authors. Second, in *kikigakishō* the emphasis or point of the lecture lies not in the topic as a whole, but only in the concluding verse that sums up each *kōan*. Often the same topic or same *kōan* would be brought up repeatedly, but depending on the circumstances of that particular day the teacher (or students) would ask different questions and answer with different verses. For example, Ryōnen Eichō invariably began each ninety-day training period (*ango*) during one nine-year period (1519-1528) by questioning (*satsu*) his students on the meaning of this same line from the *Engakukyō* (Ch. *Yuanjuejing*): "By great perfect enlightenment make yourself into a temple [wherein] body and mind reside (*ango*) in true

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[193]Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Zenshūshi kenkyū to Zenseki shōmono shiryō" (1981), rpt. in *Dōgen to Sōtōshū*, 85.

knowledge of the undifferentiated [i.e., the absolute]." Yet his questions and answers always differed.[194]

Medieval Sōtō literature leaves no doubt that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries *kōan* study had permeated every aspect of Sōtō Zen training. Each lineage had its own *kōan* curriculum. Rituals and doctrines were taught in *kōan* format, with questions answered by stereotyped phrases. Teachers lectured on Zen texts and individual *kōan* as a means of teaching students how to apply these phrases to any and all situations. These texts, however, ultimately do not reveal the extent to which Sōtō and Rinzai approaches to *kōan* study during meditation were either similar or different. One can only note that Sōtō *kōan* Zen centered upon the analysis and creative use of concluding phrases of stereotyped Chinese verse, the alternate sayings (*daigo*) and appended words (*agyo* or *jakugo*). It is extremely difficult to find examples of Sōtō teachers urging their students (in Rinzai fashion) to create a mass of doubt, or to cling to a *kōan*. There is little or no evidence to suggest that Sōtō *kōan* study centered upon inducing an enlightenment experience.

Analysis of medieval *goroku* also supports this position. These texts with their ceremonious orientation contain very little mention of Zen practice. Yet significantly, the term *"genjō kōan"* occurs much more often than references to "old *kōan*" (*ko kōan*) or "old example *kōan*" (*kosoku kōan*). Of the eighteen medieval *goroku* included in the collected texts of the Sōtō school, seven contain no mention of either

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[194] Ishikawa Rikizan, "'En'ō chūkō Ryōnen dai oshō hōgo' ni tsuite," 68-71.

term.[195] In the remaining eleven texts, the compound term *"genjō kōan"* occurs twenty-six times, while *"kōan"* alone is found only fifteen times.[196] Only four texts contain the word *"kenshō"* (the enlightenment experience of direct perception of reality), in which instances it usually occurs only in passing (often as part of a larger quotation), never as the main point of the statement.[197]

The medieval period of Sōtō history has been identified by modern Sōtō scholars as the "dark ages" (*ankoku jidai*) when Dōgen's

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[195]These seven texts are: (1) *Giun oshō goroku;* (2) *Jochū Tengin hōgo;* (3) Bonsei (d.1424), *Taiyō oshō goroku;* (4) *Sensō Zenji goroku;* (5) Kiun Sokyoku (1424-1499), *Ryūen nisei Kiun -Kyoku oshō goroku* [included as part of *Ryūen Seijun Kiun Itsū goroku narabi ni gyōjō*]; (6) Itsū Kieju (d.1519), *Ryūen sansei Itsū oshō goroku* [included as part of *Ryūen Seijun Kiun Itsū goroku narabi ni gyōjō*]; and (7) *Kikuin oshō agyo;* all except no. 3 in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1, and no. 3 in *ZSZ*, 3, *Goroku*, 1.

[196]These eleven texts and the breakdown between *"genjō kōan"* and *"kōan"* are as follows (all page numbers are to *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1, or, if preceded by "ZSZ," to *ZSZ*, 3, *Goroku*, 1): (1) Gasan Jōseki, *San'un kaigetsu*, *"genjō kōan"* 4 times (fasc. 1, pp. 46b-47a, 48b, 51a; fasc. 3, p. 62b) and *"kōan"* 8 times (fasc. 1, pp. 46a, 47a, 48a, 51a; fasc. 2, p. 52a; fasc. 3, 60a, 60b, 61a); (2) *Jippō Ryōshū Zenji goroku*, *"genjō kōan"* once (fasc. 2, p. 115b); (3) *Tsūgen Zenji goroku*, *"genjō kōan"* 4 times (pp. 66a, 70b, 73b, 76b) and *"kōan"* once (p. 67b); (4) *Hoda kaisan Gessen Zenji goroku*, *"kosoku"* once (p. 104a); (4) *Fusai Zenji goroku*, *"genjō kōan"* twice (fasc. 1, p. 131a; fasc. 2, p. 149b) and *"kōan"* twice (fasc. 1, p. 124b, 137a); (6) *Chikusan Tokusen goroku*, *"genjō kōan"* once (fasc. 2, *ZSZ* p. 24a); (7) *Zuigan Zenji goroku*, *"genjō kōan"* twice (pp. 176a, 182b); (8) *Hoda kaisan Mugoku Zenji goroku*, *"kōan"* once (p. 213b); (9) *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*, *"genjō kōan"* 8 times (pp. 227a, 228b, 231a, 232a, 236a, 247a, 256b, 261b) and *"kōan"* once (p. 261a); (10) *Kasugazan Rinsen kaisan Don'ei Zenji goroku*, *"genjō kōan"* 4 times (twice each on pp. 382b and 383b); (11) *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, *"kōan"* once (fasc. 3, 454b). In addition to the above citations, another term, "the uncompleted *kōan*" (*miryō kōan*) also occurs twice. This term, however, is a poetic reference to Buddhism as "the teaching that can never be fully exhausted [or comprehended]" (*isshō fujintei shūshi*). It does not refer to *kōan* study. See *Tsūgen Zenji goroku*, p. 73b, and *Chikusan Tokusen goroku*, fasc. 2, p. 24a.

[197]See (1) *Giun oshō goroku*, in *SSK*, 8: 44; alt. in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:14b; (2) *San'un kaigetsu*, fasc. 2, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:54a; (3) *Chikusan Tokusen goroku*, fasc. 1, in *ZSZ*, 3, *Goroku*, 1:13b; and (4) *Kikuin oshō agyo*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:544b.

teachings were forgotten.[198] Certainly, it is true that medieval Sōtō monks failed to transmit many of the key doctrines expressed by Dōgen in his principal writings and recorded sayings. Institutional practices and monastic regulations had slipped away from the ideals envisioned by Dōgen. The justifiable criticisms of modern Sōtō leaders, however, should not leave the mistaken impression that their medieval predecessors had abandoned Zen practice or had become totally unaware of their Sōtō traditions. As demonstrated by the texts cited above, throughout the medieval period Sōtō monasteries and monks not only had continued the traditional Zen emphasis on meditation and enlightenment, but also in these endeavors had attempted to transmit and express Dōgen's teachings as then understood.

Medieval Sōtō religious life, however, was not limited to traditional Zen practices. Rituals were adapted from non-Zen traditions and Zen practices originally intended only for monks, such as precept ordinations and funerals, became major links uniting the communities of Zen monks to their lay supporters. These areas, the subjects of the following chapters, represent the true deviations from Dōgen's Zen. Yet perhaps because they have continued to play a major role in retaining lay allegiance down to the present day, modern Sōtō leaders typically attempt to reconcile these practices with Dōgen's teachings rather than renounce them.

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[198]Kagamishima Genryū, "Nihon Zenshūshi: Sōtōshū," in *Zen no rekishi: Nihon*, Kōza Zen, 4:114.

THE GROWTH OF THE SŌTŌ ZEN TRADITION IN MEDIEVAL JAPAN

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CHAPTER 7

PRECEPT ORDINATIONS

Ordination ceremonies and the Buddhist precepts played a major role in the establishment and subsequent growth of the Japanese Sōtō school. In contrast to meditation and *kōan* study (which concerned only monks within the Zen monasteries), precepts transcended the confines of monastic and secular realms. Within the walls of the Zen monastery, new monks were ordained by the power of their vows to follow the Buddhist precepts. Outside the monastery walls, lay precept ordinations helped attract new patrons. If Dōgen had not had the ability to ordain his own students and to teach them how to perform the ordination rituals, the institutional independence of the Sōtō school could not have been achieved. Without lay ordinations, the Sōtō school probably could not have achieved such rapid growth. The importance of precepts within Japanese Zen schools, their interpretation and the ordination procedures by which they are transmitted, rarely have been investigated or described in western accounts of Zen Buddhism. Probably this is a result of the influence of D. T. Suzuki's interpretation of Zen as a transmission of the inner formless spirit of religion, unencumbered by any outward trappings of dogma or ritual.[1]

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[1]For a discussion of what this "formless spirit of religion" signified for Suzuki, see Margaret H. Dornish, "Aspects of D. T. Suzuki's Early Interpretations of Buddhism and Zen," *The Eastern Buddhist*, n.s. 3:1 (1970), 47-66.

Buddhism, however, is in many ways a religion of precepts. A standard summation of Buddhism even is entitled the Universal Precepts of the Seven Buddhas (*shichibutsu tsūkaige*).[2] The attributes of Buddhas and bodhisattvas are determined by the various vows with which they embarked upon their careers. Likewise, the vows to observe the Buddhist precepts taken by all Buddhists, both laymen and monks, define the religious attitudes and types of behavior proper for each.[3] The breadth of topics included under the rubric of precepts, therefore, is extremely comprehensive. These include morality and virtue, proper means of livelihood, self-discipline, rules for the governance of communal life and for the performance of rituals, definitions of the nature and goals of religious practice, as well as doctrines on the origin, meaning, methods of transmission, and spiritual power of the precepts. The formal transmission of Zen lineages from China to Japan forced Japanese Zen monks to take a stand on many of these dogmatic issues even if only implicitly because these doctrines had been interpreted differently in China and in Japan. For this reason, much of the scholarship produced by Sōtō monks during the Tokugawa period was devoted to controversies over precepts, such as their proper role within Zen practice and the legitimacy of their transmission.[4]

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[2]I.e., "Refrain from all evil; Perform all manner of good; Purify your own mind; This is the teaching of all Buddhas."

[3]This was especially so in early Indian Buddhism. See Hirakawa Akira, "The Rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism And Its Relationship to the Worship of Stupas," *Memoirs of The Research Department of The Toyo Bunko*, 22 (1963): 77, 98-105.

[4]Kagamishima Genryū, "Nihon Zenshūshi: Sōtōshū," in *Zenshū no rekishi: Nihon*, Kōza Zen, 4:116-125.

Fortunately, the role of precept ordinations in medieval Sōtō practice can be examined without having to explore all the minutiae of these controversies. One controversy, however, must be examined, namely, the origin of Dōgen's precepts--the starting point for the Buddhist precepts taught by medieval Sōtō monks. This chapter first will briefly contrast the main features of precept interpretation and ordination as practiced in China and Japan during Dōgen's youth and will summarize Dōgen's responses to these conditions. The remainder of the chapter will describe the various types of precept ordinations performed by medieval Sōtō monks and analyze the functions of these ceremonies within medieval Japanese society.

Precept Ordinations In Chinese Chan Monasteries

In China all the major controversies over the Buddhist precepts had long been settled by the time the great Chan monasteries of the Southern Song dynasty were flourishing.[5] All proper monks had to be ordained on the special ordination platforms maintained either at special monasteries administered by monks trained in the doctrinal commentaries on the precepts (i.e., monks of the Lü school) or at certain large Chan monasteries. Presumably, the ordinations conducted at both types of monastery would have been largely the same. According to the *Chanyuan qinggui*, every monk seeking admission to a Chan monastery was required to present three documents, namely, ordination certificates for both his novice and full ordinations and an ordination

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[5]The following summary of the roles of the Hīnayāna vinaya, bodhisattva precepts, and monastic codes in Chinese Chan is indebted to my lecture notes from Kagamishima Genryū's lectures on Zen Precepts. Mistakes of interpretation, haowever, are my own.

transcript (*liunian;* Jpn. *rokunen*).[6] The two ordination certificates would have to be purchased from the central government's Bureau of Sacrifice (*cibu*), while the *liunian* would have to be obtained from the monastery which conducted the ordinations. All three documents would record the names of the preceptors who conducted the ordinations as well as their dates and locations. The date of the *liunian* would be used to determine a monk's monastic seniority during the summer training session.[7]

The novice and full ordinations would be conducted separately. The novice ordination consisted of the administration of vows to observe the three refuges, the five precepts of the Buddhist layman, and the ten precepts of the novice.[8] Although the ten precepts of the novice begin with the same five vows taken by a layman, the entire list of precepts would be administered again because the mental attitudes of a layman and novice differ. The full ordination consisted of the administration of vows to observe the 250 precepts of a monk or the 348 precepts of a nun. The ordination procedures and the lists of precepts both were based on the *Sifenlü* (Jpn. *Shibunritsu*).[9] This text is a Chinese translation of

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[6]Fasc. 1, "Guada" (Jpn. "Kata"); rev. edn. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 39.

[7]*Chanyuan qinggui*, fasc. 10, "Baijiang guishengsong" (Jpn. "Hyakujō kijōju"); rev. edn. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 353.

[8]*Chanyuan qinggui*, fasc. 9, "Shami shoujiewen" (Jpn. "Shami jukaimon"); rev. edn. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 307. The three refuges (p. 308) are the Buddha, his teachings, and his followers (i.e., the community of monks).

[9]The *Chanyuan qinggui* stated that the precepts of the *Sifenlü* should be recited regularly. This practice also is mentioned in Eisai's account of his training at Chinese Chan monasteries. See *Chanyuan qinggui*, fasc. 1, "Hujie" (Jpn. "Gokai"); rev. edn. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 16; and Eisai, *Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 2, 55.

the Buddhist vinaya believed to have been used by the Dharmaguptika, one of the Hīnayāna schools in India. Chinese Buddhist monks followed the *Sifenlü* in spite of its Hīnayāna background because Mahāyāna scriptures proclaim that all precepts of the Buddha should be observed. In Dōgen's time, Chinese Buddhist scholars taught that the distinction between Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna exists only in the individual attitudes of the monks, not in the precepts. Moreover, the Chinese regarded the *Sifenlü* as fostering stronger Mahāyāna attitudes compared to the other Hīnayāna vinaya texts that had been translated into Chinese. Yet the *Chanyuan qinggui* also urged Chan monks to follow their full ordination with an additional ordination based on the bodhisattva precepts, to promote the full development of Mahāyāna attitudes.[10]

The bodhisattva precepts used at Chan monasteries are based on the *Fanwangjing* (Jpn. *Bonmōkyō*).[11] This scripture describes fifty-eight precepts, ten major and forty-eight minor, that are to be observed by all bodhisattvas, be they monks, nuns, laymen or laywomen. It is not known if the procedures for ordination with these precepts were fully standardized. Within the Chinese Tiantai school, for example, each of the several extant ordination manuals describes a different sequence of ceremonies.[12] In general, bodhisattva ordinations seem to have included not only the precepts of the *Fanwangjing*, but also several related sets of vows found in other Mahāyāna scriptures. These additional vows

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[10]Fasc. 1, "Shoujie" (Jpn. "Jukai"); rev. edn. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 13.

[11]See *Chanyuan qinggui*, fasc. 1, "Hujie"; rev. edn. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 16; and Eisai, *Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 3, in *Chūsei Zenke no shisō*, 73.

[12]Ikeda Rosan, "Bosatsukai no keisei to tenkai," *KBK*, 28 (1970): 106-25.

include the three refuges, a ritual confession and repentance, the four universal vows, and the three pure precepts. Because both laymen and monks could receive the same bodhisattva ordinations, monastic seniority always would be based on the date of a monk's full *Sifenlü* ordinations, never on his bodhisattva ordination.[13] Therefore the *Sifenlü* ordinations always came first. Likewise, laymen would receive their bodhisattva ordinations only after first having been ordained with the three refuges and five vows of the layman.[14]

Chinese Buddhists relied on the *Sifenlü* precepts and the *Fanwangjing* (i.e., bodhisattva) precepts for two different types of religious guidance. The *Sifenlü* provides detailed rules for monastic decorum and daily rituals, while the *Fanwangjing* describes the attitude of compassion inherent in the Mahāyāna emphasis upon universal salvation. The *Sifenlü* precepts often focus on extremely concrete details of monastic life. For example, the explanation of the precept limiting a monk's major possessions to just one bowl states that a monk shall not obtain a new bowl unless his old one already is damaged in at least six places.[15] In contrast to this kind of emphasis upon the monks' own circumstances, the precepts in the *Fanwangjing* focus on general principals of interpersonal relations and lifestyle. Even the ordering of the precepts reflect different priorities. The first precept in the *Sifenlü* is for the monk to control his own sexual desire

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[13]Dōgen stated that the Japanese concept of monkhood (i.e., one based on the bodhisattva ordination alone) was totally unknown in Song China. See his "Postscript," *Myōzen gusokukaichō* (1199), in *Komonjo*, no. 1, 1:4-5; alt. titled *"Myōzen oshō kaichō okugaki,"* in *DZZ*, 2:397.

[14]*Chanyuan qinggui*, fasc. 10, "Quantanxin" (Jpn. "Kandanshin"); rev. edn. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 337.

[15]*Sifenlü*, fasc. 9, in *T*, 22:623b.

(i.e., self control), while the first precept in the *Fanwangjing* forbids the killing of all sentient beings (i.e., saving others). In some cases the different orientations of the precepts in these two scriptures contradict each other. Consider, for example, the case of a woman who wishes to learn Buddhism. The *Sifenlü* (which emphasizes controlling all desires) forbids a monk to speak more than five or six words to a woman unless other reputable male witnesses are present, even if the monk's only intention is to instruct her in Buddhism.[16] From the standpoint of the *Fanwangjing*, however, the salvation of the woman is more important than whether or not the monk observes his own vows.

The monastic regulations (*qinggui;* Jpn. *shingi*) governing daily life at Chan monasteries attempt to transcend the contradictions between the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna precepts.[17] The *Chanyuan qinggui* repeats the famous injunction attributed to Baijiang Huaihai that the fundamental essence (*zong*; Jpn. *shū*) of Chan life should neither be restricted by, nor differ from, either the Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna precepts. As cited in this text, Baijiang asserted that monastic regulations must be based only on the actual conditions that are appropriate for Chan practice.[18] Chan monastic regulations, therefore, represent a third category of Buddhist guidelines. Unlike either the Hīnayāna precepts (which focus on the suppression of one's own evil actions) or the Mahāyāna precepts

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[16]*Sifenlü*, fasc. 11, in *T*, 22:6640b.

[17]Regarding the nature and significance of *qinggui*, see Martin Collcutt, "The Early Ch'an Monastic Rule: 'Ch'ing kuei' and the Shaping of Ch'an Community Life," in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, ed. Whalen Lai and Lewis R. Lancaster, 165-84.

[18]*Chanyuan qinggui*, fasc. 10, "Baijiang guishengsong"; rev. edn. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 340. Compare the *Baijiang guishi*, in *Jingde chuandenglu*, fasc. 6, in *T*, 51:250-51.

(which concern compassion for others), the Chan regulations emphasize communal practice and joint labor. Not only were all monks required to eat, to sleep, and to meditate together in the monks' hall, but all monks were also to participate in monastic chores (*puqing*) regardless of seniority or office.[19] It is significant to note that these monastic chores included gardening, a practice traditionally forbidden to fully ordained monks because the breaking of the ground might endanger the lives of insects and worms. This indicates that communal practice assumed greater importance in Chan than did any individual's concern with the precepts. In other words, Chan monastic practice focused on goals other than the mere observance of the precepts.

Precept Ordinations in Japan

Japanese Buddhists never attained the same uniformity in precepts and ordination procedures as had been achieved in China. Monks associated with the major monasteries of Nara generally followed the same series of (1) lay, (2) novice, (3) full monk and (4) bodhisattva ordinations as practiced in China, based on the same scriptures, namely, the *Shibunritsu* (i.e., Ch. *Sifenlü*) and the *Bonmōkyō* (i.e., Ch. *Fanwangjing*). The Japanese Tendai school, however, had been established with its own ordination ceremony based on the bodhisattva precepts alone. Saichō, the founder of Japanese Tendai, had rejected the traditional ordinations administered in Nara not only because of

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[19]*Chanyuan qinggui*, fasc. 10, "Baijiang guishengsong"; rev. edn. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 343-44, 347. The abbot's participation in monastic chores seems to have been widely practiced in Chinese monasteries already during the Tang dynasty. See Ennin, *Nittō guhō junrei gyōki*, fasc. 2, entry dated 839:9:28, trans. Edwin O. Reischauer, *Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1955), 150.

doctrinal objections to their Hīnayāna origins but also as a means of insuring the independence of the Tendai school.[20] From the time that the Tendai school had been authorized to administer its own ordinations (in 822) until the time Dōgen was ordained as a Tendai monk (in 1213) more than 390 years had elapsed. The Tendai school, its doctrinal justifications for its own precepts, and its rituals for ordinations all had taken firm root in Japan. However, the conflict between Tendai and the Nara schools over ordinations and precepts had never disappeared. The Nara monk Jōkei (1155-1213), for example, wrote a detailed attack on the Tendai ordinations in which he stated that Tendai priests were mere laymen in monks' robes, lacking knowledge of the precepts and vinaya.[21]

Jōkei based his criticism on the fact that bodhisattva ordinations can be administered to both monks and laymen. Only Hīnayāna vinaya such as the *Shibunritsu* distinguish between the ordinations and precepts for monks and those for laymen.[22] Saichō, however, had argued that the same bodhisattva precepts and ordination could be used for both monks and laymen without confusing the two.[23] According to this interpretation, a layman who had not shaved his head or left his home would remain a layman even after having received all the bodhisattva precepts. If, however, that layman had received the tonsure and initial

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[20]Paul Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*, Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series (Seoul: Po Chin Chai, 1984).

[21]*Nanto Eizan kaishōretsu no koto*, in *NBZ*, 105:16a.

[22]The *Shibunritsu* divides Buddhists into seven different groups according to the types of ordinations and precepts they receive. These seven groups are monks (*biku*), nuns (*bikuni*), male and female novices (*shami*, *shamini*), laymen and laywomen (*ubasoku*, *ubai*), and probationary female novices (*shikishamana*). In Chinese Chan monasteries, this last category was replaced by lay workers (*zunnan*).

[23]Groner, *Saichō*, 217-18.

monastic training then that same ordination ceremony would confer upon him the status of a monk. The precepts, ordination and mental goals of both layman and monk would be the same. Only their outward appearance and rules of social behavior would differ.

Yet the bodhisattva precepts alone proved too abstract to provide monks with detailed guidance in daily social decorum. There always remained the problem of determining what rules of behavior Japanese Tendai monks were to observe. In 824, two years after Saichō's death, the Tendai community on Mt. Hiei compiled its first set of rules for governing monastic life.[24] When these proved inadequate, supplemental lists of rules also appeared. Yet ultimately these monastic rules lacked any final source of religious authority within Japanese Tendai doctrine. The attitudes of Tendai monks toward monastic rules were shaped by the bodhisattva precepts--which stress the spirituality underlying the precepts over strict literal observance. When the bodhisattva precepts and Tendai monastic rules were interpreted in terms of medieval Tendai doctrines of inherent enlightenment (*hongaku hōmon*), the evil conduct that the precepts were meant to control could be reduced to a mere dualistic abstraction. The Tendai patriarch Annen, for example, taught that observance of the precepts is found both in good and in evil because the precepts represent the dharma-nature (i.e., true essence) of ultimate reality (*shinnyo hosshō no kaihō*).[25] This

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[24]Groner, *Saichō*, 272.

[25]Annen, *Futsū bosatsukai kōshaku*, fasc. 1, in *T*, 74:766b. For this citation I am indebted to Ikeda Rosan, "Zenkai to Kamakura Bukkyō," *SG*, 12 (1970): 106. Regarding Annen's attitude toward the precepts, see Paul Groner, "Annen, Tankei, Henjō, and Monastic Discipline in the Tendai School: The Background of the 'Futsū bosatsukai kōshaku.'" *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 14:2-3 (June-Sept. 1987), 129-59.

rejection of any distinction between good and evil was expressed in more concrete terms as well. One medieval Tendai text asserts: "If performed naturally (*musa*) and without self-effort (*ninnun*) even evil actions are not improper, [just as] Kannon might appear in the guise of a fisherman and kill all manner of marine life."[26]

Many Tendai monks distorted these doctrines in order to rationalize their own moral laxity. Eisai, for example, confessed that in his younger years he had readily joined his fellow Tendai monks in breaking the dietary precepts against eating afternoon meals and drinking alcohol.[27] Jōkei's attack on Tendai monks for their ignorance of the precepts, therefore, had sought to exploit a major weakness of the Tendai community.[28] Disregard of the precepts, however, did not reach its most extreme expression within the mainline Tendai establishment. Instead, the first open rejection of the precepts occurred among the lower-level monks of the twelfth century who abandoned the complex Buddhism of the Tendai school and left Mt. Hiei. Two groups in particular were denounced for antinomianism, namely, the Pure Land monks led by Hōnen and the Zen monks led by Nōnin.

Hōnen appears to have carefully observed the precepts. Yet the Buddhist establishment attacked his teachings for promoting precept

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[26]*Kankō ruijū*, fasc. 2, in *NBZ*, 17:40b-41a. For this citation I am indebted to Tamura, "Tendai hongaku shisō gaisetsu," 541-42. For the translation of *musa* (originally "unconditioned") as "naturally," see Shimaji, *Nihon Bukkyō kyōgakushi*, 471.

[27]See *Shukke daikō*, leaf 6a, as cited by Yanagida Seizan, "Eisai to 'Kōzen gokokuron' no kadai," 461-62.

[28]This is not meant to imply that moral decline or political corruption within Japanese Buddhism was by any means confined to the Tendai school. For examples of the abuses afflicting all Buddhist schools during the late-Heian period, see Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, 2, *Chūseihen 1*, 133-41.

violations.[29] Some of Hōnen's followers believed that even a lifetime of evil deeds could not prevent deathbed salvation by Amida Buddha. In their insistence on salvation through exclusive faith in Amida, the more extreme of these monks rejected any attempt to cling to the precepts.[30] Likewise, the Darumashū also had been severely criticized for having rejected the precepts.[31] The details of Darumashū doctrines regarding the precepts are unclear, but we know that one Darumashū text asserted that the purpose the precepts lies only in controlling the active mind. Therefore, when one attains no-mind (*mushin*) all precepts are left behind.[32] Any new religious groups that denied the necessity of precepts (and, therefore, ordinations) could have operated totally unfettered by government and ecclesiastical restrictions on ordinations. Therefore, the alarm that these doctrines caused civil and ecclesiastical authorities played a major role in the court's attempts to suppress both of these groups. Prohibitions were directed first against Nōnin's Darumashū (in 1194) and then against Hōnen's Pure Land teachings (in 1207). Hōnen's fate does not concern us here, but we must note that the government's 1194 prohibition of the Darumashū extended to

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[29]*Kōfukuji sōjō*, attributed to Jōkei, in *Kamakura kyū Bukkyō*, ed. Kamata Shigeo and Tanaka Hisao, 40-41. Also see Robert E. Morrell, "Jōkei and the Kōfukuji Petition," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 10:1 (March 1983), 32-33.

[30]Regarding Hōnen's contradictory attitudes toward these doctrines, see Furuta Shōkin, "Kamakura Bukkyō ni okeru jikai jiritsu shūgi to han jikai jiritsu shūgi: Hōnen no bai" (1964), rpt. in *Nihon Bukkyō shisōshi*, 243-58.

[31]Kokan Shiren, *Genkō Shakusho*, fasc. 2, in *NBZ*, 101:156b.

[32]*Jōtō shōgakuron*, 203b.

Eisai's Zen teachings as well.[33]

Eisai sought to continue teaching Zen. He defended his own position by attempting to clearly distinguish his Zen from the practices advocated by Nōnin. He accomplished this goal easily, since Eisai's Zen could hardly have been more different from that of the Darumashū. Eisai had sought to promote Zen not in order to reject the precepts, but as a means of reviving the strict observance of the precepts within Japanese Tendai. In brief, Eisai's attitude toward the precepts exhibited the following five characteristics.[34]

(1) Eisai argued that the fundamental essence (*shū;* Ch. *zong*) of Zen lay in observance of the precepts.[35] He stated that anyone who repented of past transgressions of the precepts and ceased from all evil automatically practices Zen, while anyone who violated the precepts could not even be a Buddhist.[36] Eisai not only professed this belief, he also practiced it. His strict observance of the precepts had impressed even Chinese monks.[37] (2) Eisai asserted that all of Buddhism depended upon the precepts. He argued that the three aspects of Buddhist learning (*sangaku*) could be attained only through a step-by-step progression. In other words, one must first observe the precepts (i.e., learn self-control), then practice Zen (i.e., meditation), and

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[33]*Hyakurenshō,* fasc. 10, entry for 1194:7:5, in *Shintei zōho Kokushi taikei,* 11:125.

[34]These five themes occur throughout the length of Eisai's *Kōzen gokokuron.* Only Eisai's most direct assertions are cited below.

[35]*Kōzen gokokuron,* fasc. 1, in *Chūsei Zenke no shisō,* 35, also see 47, 80.

[36]Ibid., fasc. 1, 37, 47.

[37]Yushu (Jpn. Gucho), *Ribenguo Qianguang fashi citangji* (Jpn. *Nipponkoku Senkō hōshi shidōki;* 1225), in *Zoku gunsho ruijū,* 9:274b.

attain wisdom only last. The precepts always come first.[38] (3) Eisai sought to revive use of the *Shibunritsu* in Japanese Tendai. Eisai described his own Zen study in China simply by stating that he learned three things: the transmission of the Rinzai line, the *Shibunritsu*, and the bodhisattva precepts.[39] He argued that Zen monks must not choose among precepts, but observe all those found both in the *Shibunritsu* and in the *Bonmōkyō*.[40] (4) Eisai rejected the saying found in some Mahāyāna scriptures that observing the Hīnayāna precepts would entail breaking the bodhisattva precepts.[41] He argued any Buddhist who violated the precepts not only transgressed against the Hīnayāna rules but also turned away from the Mahāyāna. Eisai asserted that true Zen monks reconcile the two by outwardly observing Hīnayāna rules of decorum while inwardly possessing Mahāyāna compassion.[42] (5) Finally, Eisai emphasized the precepts alone, without attempting to implement the Zen monastic regulations. Although he cited passages from the *Chanyuan qinggui* to support his use of the *Shibunritsu*, Eisai ultimately was more concerned with reviving the precepts than with the routines of Zen monastic life.[43] He never regarded Zen as separated from Japanese

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[38]*Kōzen gokokuron*, fascs. 1-2, pp. 36, 37, 43.

[39]Eisai, *Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 2, 55.

[40]Ibid., fascs. 1, 3, pp. 11, 73, 81.

[41]Ibid., fasc. 3, 73. The editors of this edition of the *Kōzen gokokuron* cite two scriptures for the saying in question: *Xiuchan yaojue* (Jpn. *Shuzen yōketsu*), in *ZZK*, 2:15:479b; and *Dabaojijing* (Jpn. *Daihōshakkyō*), fasc. 90, in *T*, 11:516c.

[42]Ibid., fascs. 2-3, pp. 39-40, 73, 79.

[43]Eisai did establish rules for daily meditation and other routines of Zen life (*Kōzen gokokuron*, fasc. 3, 80-85), but these were performed within a traditional Tendai setting.

Tendai.[44] Nonetheless, because Eisai identified Zen with the strict observance of the precepts, he regarded himself (instead of Nōnin) as the first true Japanese Zen teacher.

Dōgen

Dōgen began his study of Zen under the guidance of Eisai's direct disciple Myōzen. Dōgen inherited Eisai's precept lineage through Myōzen. In Dōgen's writings Eisai always is spoken of only in terms of praise. One could reasonably expect, therefore, that Dōgen's attitude toward the precepts would have reflected Eisai's positions. However, this is not the case. In every one of the five points listed above Dōgen differed from Eisai, to wit:

(1) Dōgen told Ejō that the fundamental essence (*shū*) of Zen is sitting in meditation (*shikan taza*). He argued in indirect reference to Eisai that it is mistaken to assert that the fundamental essence of Zen or Buddhism could be found merely in observance of the precepts. Dōgen asserted that no Chinese monks taught such a doctrine and claimed to have corrected the practices of former students of Eisai who held overly literal interpretations of the precepts.[45] (2) Dōgen repeatedly stressed that all three aspects of Buddhist learning (i.e., precepts, meditation and wisdom) are found simultaneously within the act of sitting in Zen meditation. In the conversation just cited, for example, Dōgen rhetorically inquired of Ejō: "When seated in meditation (*zazen*), what precepts are not being observed? What virtues are lacking?" (3) Dōgen firmly rejected the authority of the *Shibunritsu*. In one

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[44]Yanagida, "Eisai to 'Kōzen gokokuron' no kadai," 459.

[45]Ejō, *Zuimonki*, sec. 2, in *Koten bungaku-81*, 332-34; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:428-29.

particularly strong statement Dōgen first asserted that the way of enlightenment (*bendō*) taught by the Buddhas and patriarchs could never resemble Hīnayāna practices and then defined "Hīnayāna" as the precepts of the *Shibunritsu*.[46] Dōgen alluded to Eisai when he criticized "recent second-raters" who had falsely asserted that Zen monks must uncritically accept both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna precepts.[47] (4) Dōgen endorsed the statement that observing the Hīnayāna precepts would entail breaking the bodhisattva precepts.[48] He even introduced this statement as being the true teaching of the Buddha. Dōgen argued that precepts common to both scriptures--such as the Hīnayāna vow not to kill and the Mahāyāna vow not to kill--actually differ as much as heaven and earth.[49]
(5) Finally, Dōgen regarded the implementation of the Zen monastic codes as being more important than the precepts. The importance of the lay in their power to ordain new monks; but the true expression of the precepts could be realized only through the rituals of Zen monastic life.[50] In other words, the observance of the precepts merely represented conformity to the daily conduct (*anri*) established by the Buddhas and Zen patriarchs.[51] Even someone who never receives an ordination or who

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[46]*Kōroku*, sec. 5, lec. 390, in *DZZ*, 2:96-97.

[47]*SBGZ*, "Sanjūshichi bodai bunpō" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:517. Also see Kagamishima Genryū, "Endonkai to Eisai-Dōgen" (1962), rpt. in *Dōgen Zenji to sono shūhen*, 27-28, 31-32 n. 2.

[48]*SBGZ*, "Shoaku mokusa" and "Sanjūshichi bodai bunpō" chaps., in *DZZ*, 1:280, 517.

[49]*SBGZ*, "Sanjūshichi bodai bunpō" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:517.

[50]Kuromaru Kanji, "Eihei shingi no seikaku: Toku ni bosatsu daikai to no kankei ni oite," *IBK*, 9:2 (March 1961), 233-35.

[51]Ishida, "Dōgen: Sono kai to shingi," pt. 6, *Komazawa bunko kenkyū*, 8:8 (March 1962), 1-2.

breaks the precepts cannot be excluded from Zen practice.[52]

Dōgen taught that Zen monks must transcend the distinctions between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna not by accepting the precepts of both, but by living according to the Zen monastic routines that had (in his view) been directly transmitted by the Indian and Chinese patriarchs. Dōgen taught that monks must follow these Zen routines as Mahāyāna practices regardless of whether the rituals actually originated in Hīnayāna or in Mahāyāna scriptures. For example, Dōgen described the rules in his *Taitaikohō* as being the pinnacle of Mahāyāna Buddhism, even though he had based these rules on the writings of Daoxuan (Jpn. Dōsen; 596-667), the principal Chinese commentator on the *Shibunritsu*.[53] Likewise, Dōgen rejected Baijiang Huaihai's injunction that Zen life should neither be restricted by nor differ from either the Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna precepts. Dōgen voiced this rejection by adding double negatives to each side of Baijiang's injunction so as to emphasize that Zen life must transcend even the need to transcend Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna.[54] Hīnayāna was acceptable to Dōgen only when subsumed into Mahāyāna, at which point its Hīnayāna identity disappears into the true Buddhism of the Zen patriarchs.[55] This affirmation only of the Hīnayāna practices that had been given Mahāyāna significance within Zen monastic life represents a

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[52]See, for example, *Bendōwa*, in *DZZ*, 1:740-41, alt. 758; or *SBGZ*, "Shukke kudoku" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:610.

[53]*DZZ*, 2:311. Also see Kagamishima Genryū, "Zenkai shisō no tenkai," in *Dōgen Zenji to sono monryū*, 167-68.

[54]*Kōroku*, sec. 5, lec. 390, in *DZZ*, 2:97.

[55]See *Hōkyōki*, in *DZZ*, 2:386; and *Kōroku*, sec. 7, lec. 516, in *DZZ*, 2:136-37.

significant departure from Eisai's teaching that Zen monks must accept Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna precepts equally.

Dōgen's rejection of Eisai's approach to the precepts implies a rejection of Rujing's teachings on the precepts as well. Rujing's own views of the precepts are not documented, but there is no reason to believe that his teachings would have deviated from the standard Chinese approach described in the *Chanyuan qinggui* and in Eisai's writings.[56] Rujing would never have been recognized as a monk in China unless he had received the complete step-by-step series of ordinations with the lay, novice, Hīnayāna and bodhisattva precepts. Dōgen, however, quotes Rujing as having stated that the Chinese novice Gao (i.e., Gao *shami*, a Chan monk of the Tang dynasty) had been a full monk on the basis of his bodhisattva precepts alone. Rujing stated in this quotation that Gao had been awarded full monastic seniority not just ranking as a novice, with his seniority determined from the date of his bodhisattva ordination.[57] Traditionally this quotation has been seen as proof that Dōgen based his rejection of the Hīnayāna precepts on Rujing's teachings and as proof that Dōgen inherited his style of the precept ordination--based on the bodhisattva precepts alone--directly from Rujing. If this traditional interpretation is correct, then the usual understanding of the ordination system followed in Chinese Buddhism must be incomplete.

However, another interpretation of this quotation also is possible, based on Dōgen's circumstances in China. Dōgen had traveled

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[56]See Ishida, "Dōgen: Sono kai to shingi," pt. 1, 3; Kagamishima Genryū, "Zenkai no seiritsu to endonkai" (1967), rpt. as "Endonkai to Busso shōden bosatsukai," in *Dōgen Zenji to sono shūhen*, 159-60; and *Tendō Nyojō Zenji no kenkyū*, 125-27.

[57]*Hōkyōki*, in *DZZ*, 2:387. Regarding Gao *shami*, see *Jingde chuandenglu*, fasc. 14, in *T*, 51:315c.

to China with his teacher Myōzen. Before leaving Japan, Myōzen already had obtained the proper ordination certificates that would be required in China. Dōgen had not. Either Myōzen had failed to warn Dōgen that monks in China must carry proof of full ordination with the Hīnayāna precepts or Dōgen had failed to heed Myōzen's advice. Upon arriving in China, Myōzen proceeded first to Jingfusi (Jpn. Keifukuji) and then to Jingdesi, the monastery where Eisai had studied.[58] Dōgen's activities, however, are not known. Myōzen and Dōgen had arrived during the fourth month of 1223. Myōzen already had moved from Jingfusi to Jingdesi by the twelfth day of the fifth month.[59] Yet Dōgen wrote that on the fourth day of the fifth month he (Dōgen) was still on the merchant ship that had brought him and Myōzen to China.[60] It is not known if Dōgen had accompanied Myōzen and then returned to the ship or if Dōgen had remained on board from the beginning. For Dōgen and Myōzen to have parted company so quickly after traveling to China together is very strange. One possible explanation lies in the fact that Jingfusi was administered by monks of the Lü school. Dōgen probably could not have gained admission to this monastery because he lacked proper ordination certificates.[61] Dōgen did not join Myōzen at Jingdesi until the seventh month.[62] At that time, the abbot was Wuji Liaopai (Jpn. Musai Ryōha;

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[58]Dōgen, "Postscript" (n.d.), *Myōzen gusokukaichō* (1199), in *Komonjo*, no. 1, 1:4-5; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:397. Myōzen's ordination certificate is a forgery that probably had been drafted when Myōzen first began making plans to go to China and then antedated to 1199. Dōgen's postscript probably dates from after his return to Japan.

[59]Dōgen, *Shari sōdenki*, in *DZZ*, 2:395.

[60]*Tenzo kyōkun*, in *DZZ*, 2:298.

[61]Kagamishima Genryū, "Zenkai no seiritsu to endonkai," 161-62.

[62]Dōgen, *Tenzo kyōkun*, in *DZZ*, 2:299.

1149-1224) of the Linji lineage. Dōgen also traveled to other Chan monasteries, returning to Jingdesi during the first month of 1225 and again during the fifth month of 1225 after Rujing had become abbot.[63]

Kagamishima Genryū has offered an alternate interpretation of Rujing's remarks concerning the novice Gao, based on the above details of Dōgen's travels and on the legend of Dōgen's petition over monastic seniority.[64] Dōgen's own writings contain no mention of any petition over seniority while he was in China, but his early biographies all report that Dōgen had protested his novice status in China by petitioning the Chinese emperor.[65] This petition most certainly is fiction. That Dōgen had been ranked with the Chinese novices, however, probably has some basis in fact. According to the *Chanyuan qinggui*, the group leader (*weinuo;* Jpn. *ino*) is responsible for determining each monk's seniority based on the relative dates of their *liunian*, a document which Dōgen would not have possessed. Only the abbot can authorize exceptions to this rule and only for honored monks serving in monastic offices or for monks visiting from foreign lands.[66] When Dōgen visited various monasteries, some abbots might have authorized special seniority for him; most probably did not. When Dōgen probably cited the example of novice Gao as a favorable precedent when he argued for his own seniority.[67] Kagamishima suggests that Rujing's statement should be

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[63]*SBGZ*, "Shisho" and "Menju" chaps., in *DZZ*, 1:343, 446.

[64]"Zenkai no seiritsu to endonkai," 160-64.

[65]This episode is summarized by Kodera, *Dogen's Formative Years in China*, 39-42.

[66]*Chanyuan qinggui*, fasc. 10, "Baijiang guishengsong"; rpt. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 353.

[67]Kagamishima Genryū, "Endonkai to Eisai-Dōgen," 31 n. 1.

interpreted not as Rujing's own rejection of the Hīnayāna precepts, but only as evidence of Rujing's willingness to make an exception for Dōgen. In support of this interpretation, it is significant that Rujing cited the example of novice Gao at the same time that he accepted Dōgen as his student.

Dōgen's own writings contain no mention of his original Japanese Tendai ordination. His records mention only the Rinzai line precepts that Eisai introduced from China (which Dōgen inherited from Myōzen) and the Sōtō-line precepts that he had inherited from Rujing.[68] Dōgen's lineage charts contain no indication of the content or nature of these two Chinese precept lineages. Three other texts list the precepts that Dōgen administered to his disciples. These three texts are the "Jukai" (Receiving the Precepts) chapter of Dōgen's *Shōbō genzō*, Dōgen's *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* (a description of the ordination ritual) and the *Busso shōden bosatsukai kyōju kaimon* (abb. *Kyōju kaimon;* explanations of each precept that seems to have compiled jointly by Ejō and Senne).[69] All three of these texts possess well-documented histories. Early copies of *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* exist from the Giin, Jakuen, Meihō, and Gasan lineages. Quotations from the *Kyōju kaimon* occur both in Kyōgō's *Ryakushō* and in Keizan's writings. Kyōgō and Keizan both attribute the explanations recorded in this text to

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[68]Dōgen, *Sankoku shōden bosatsukai kechimyaku*, in *DZZ*, 2:289; and Shinchi Kakushin, *Kakushin ju Shin'yu kaimyaku*, in *DZZ*, 2:291.

[69]See "Jukai" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:619-22; *Bosatsukai sahō*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 37-41, alt. *DZZ*, 2:263-70; and *Kyōju kaimon*, in *DZZ*, 2:279-81.

Dōgen.[70] Moreover, all three of these texts substantially agree on the number, content, and order of the precepts administered by Dōgen.

The *Shukke ryakusahō* (a.k.a. *Tokudo sahō*), another ordination manual which lists different precepts, also has been attributed to Dōgen.[71] This manual, however, originated well after Dōgen's death during the period when Sōtō and Rinzai monks trained together. No copies of this text or independent references to its existence can be found earlier than the fifteenth century. The three extant versions of the text contain widely variant content. One of these versions exists within a compilation of Rinzai rituals, but without any attribution to Dōgen.[72] The structure and vocabulary of the text is much closer in agreement with the *Chixiu Baijiang qinggui* (1338) than with either Dōgen's other writings or the *Chanyuan qinggui* (1103) used by Dōgen.[73] For example, some versions of the text state that novice monks are to be presented with joined robes (*jikitotsu*), a type of garment that the *Hōkyōki* specifically rejects as degenerate.[74] Therefore, only the "Jukai" chapter, the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, and the *Kyōju kaimon* provide an authentic record of Dōgen's precepts.

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[70]See *SBGZST*, 14:495, 583; and Keizan, in *DZZ*, 2:285.

[71]*DZZ*, 2:272-78.

[72]*Kaihō no honji*, in *Sho ekō shingishiki* (1566), in *T*, 81:676c-78a.

[73]For a detailed comparison of these texts, see Ishida, "Dōgen: Sono kai to shingi," pt. 2, *Komazawa bunko kenkyū*, 8:4 (March 1962), 3-5 n. 25. Ishida, however, mistakenly confused the *Chixiu Baijiang qinggui* (1338) with the legendary monastic code of Baijiang Huaihai (749-814).

[74]See *Shukke ryakusahō* in *DZZ*, 272 n.; *Kaihō no honji*, in *T*, 81:676c; and *Hōkyōki*, in *DZZ*, 2:380.

Dōgen followed standard Japanese Tendai practice insofar as he based his ordinations on the bodhisattva precepts alone. Yet Dōgen also deviated from the fifty-eight precepts of the *Bonmōkyō* that are administered in Tendai ordinations. The precepts listed in the three texts cited above correspond to no other standard group. All three texts list a single group of precepts in sixteen articles (*jūrokujōkai*), consisting of the three refuges, the three pure precepts, and the ten major precepts. The ten major precepts correspond to those of the *Bonmōkyō*, but the other forty-eight precepts also found in that scripture are not included. The standard Japanese Tendai ordination ceremony for administering the *Bonmōkyō* precepts includes the three refuges and three pure precepts as preliminary steps, but in the Tendai ceremony these six vows are not grouped together with the fifty-eight precepts of the *Bonmōkyō*.[75] Dōgen's precepts, therefore, do not reflect either the standard Chinese Chan ordinations followed by Eisai and Rujing or Japanese Tendai practice.

It is not known if the precepts in sixteen articles resulted from Dōgen's own innovation or if he had borrowed this group from another source. The postscript to the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* states that the ordination ceremony described therein is exactly the same as the one conducted by Rujing in 1225 when he administered the precepts to Dōgen.[76] The reliability of that assertion, however, seems

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[75]For the standard precepts used in Japanese Tendai ordinations, see Saichō and Enchin, *Ju bosatsu kaigi*, in *T*, 74:625-33, esp. 626a, 628b, 628c; and Annen, *Futsū bosatsukai kōshaku*, 3 fascs., in *T*, 74:757-78, esp. 766c, 773b, 775c.

[76]In *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 42a, alt. *DZZ*, 2:270.

doubtful.[77] It is difficult to understand why Rujing would not have administered all fifty-eight precepts from the *Bonmōkyō*. No tradition of abbreviated precepts existed in China.[78] Moreover, other evidence suggests a Japanese origin for the grouping of these sixteen articles. Ishida Mizumaro has pointed out that some Japanese Pure Land texts also administered precepts in sixteen articles during a type of ordination referred to as the abbreviated precept ceremony (*ryaku kaigi*).[79] This abbreviated ceremony is said to have originated from within the Japanese Tendai school. Yet the chronology of the texts cited by Ishida remains unknown, and knowledge of these Pure Land teachings cannot be linked to Dōgen.[80] Until additional evidence is discovered, the true origin of Dōgen's sixteen articles will remain a mystery. In summing up the origins of Dōgen's precepts, therefore, at present we can only identify three main influences, namely: (1) the Japanese Tendai doctrine that only Mahāyāna precepts should be observed, (2) the Chinese Chan insistence that the precepts are realized only through daily monastic life, and (3) a reduction of the number of the bodhisattva precepts to a single group of sixteen articles--apparently based on an abbreviated ordination ceremony practiced in Japan.

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[77]Kagamishima Genryū, "Zenkai no seiritsu to endonkai," 158-59.

[78]Kagamishima Genryū, "Endonkai to Zenkai," 143-49.

[79]"Dōgen: Sono kai to shingi," pt. 3, *Komazawa bunko kenkyū*, 8:5 (March 1962), 1-2. The text cited by Ishida is the *Ju bosatsukaigi*, attributed to Eryō (812-860), in *NBZ*, 72:7-8. These precepts also are discussed in the *Ken Jōdo denkairon*, by Shōgei (1341-1420).

[80]Ikeda Rosan, "Zenkai to Kamakura Bukkyō," *SG*, 12 (1970): 104; and Seiryū Sōji, "Dōgen Zenji no Bukkai shisō: Toku ni jūrokujōkai no seiritsu wo megutte," *IBK*, 22:2 (Dec. 1974), 199.

The earliest attempt to provide a detailed religious interpretation of Dōgen's precepts is found in Kyōgō's *Ryakushō*. This commentary on the *Bonmōkyō* actually focuses on the *Kyōju kaimon*.[81] The *Ryakushō*, however, addresses all fifty-eight precepts of the *Bonmōkyō*, without any reference to Dōgen's single set of sixteen precepts. This raises questions as to how accurately the *Ryakushō* represents Dōgen's teachings.[82] Yet the *Ryakushō* repeatedly contrasts its own (and, by extension, Dōgen's) exegesis of the precepts with the interpretation taught by other Buddhist schools.[83] The interpretations in the *Ryakushō* were not widely known until after the text was rediscovered during the Tokugawa period. Many of its assertions, however, represent typical medieval Japanese attitudes toward the precepts. The *Ryakushō* argues that religious insight--not literal readings--must determine the correct interpretation of any given word.[84] Therefore, the commentary emphasizes the essence of the precepts as the embodiment of Buddha nature. For example, consider Dōgen's assertion (mentioned above) of qualitative differences between the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna precepts against killing. Dōgen's writings contain no explanation of the difference between these two identically worded precepts. The *Ryakushō*, however, explains that Hīnayāna precepts control karmic (*urō*) actions,

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[81]*Ryakushō*, in *SBGZST*, 14:482-632. The bulk of this text (pages 487-589) derives from the *Kyōju kaimon*.

[82]Nakayama Jōni, "'Bonmōkyō ryakushō' kō," *SG*, 17 (1975): 133-44.

[83]*SBGZST*, 14:488, 510, 541, 545, 546, 607, 614, 615, 619, 621, 622, 623. In these passages, the Zen interpretation usually is designated as "our sect" (*shūmon*) as opposed to "other sects" (*yomon*). It is clear that "our sect" is meant to refer to Dōgen's Zen teachings since these words also introduce passages from his *Shōbō genzō*.

[84]Ibid., 14:520.

while Mahāyāna precepts describe Buddha nature (i.e., reality) itself. This Mahāyāna precept should be interpreted not as a vow against killing, but as a realization of dynamic, living reality (i.e., as opposed to "dead," static illusions).[85]

The *Ryakushō* also reiterates three traditional Japanese Tendai descriptions of the bodhisattva precepts.[86] First, ordination with the precepts is equated with Buddhahood itself.[87] Second, the Mahāyāna precepts even when violated are superior to the Hīnayāna precepts even when observed because (according to the *Ryakushō*) observance of the Hīnayāna precepts promises only self-centered salvation while violation of the Mahāyāna precepts can lead to salvation for others. And third, the power of the precepts is eternal and mutually inclusive so that an ordination with only one precept is equivalent to an everlasting ordination with all the precepts. Regardless of one's subsequent conduct, the power of the precepts and the Buddhahood they represent can never be lost. Taken together, these three characterizations imply that the ordination ceremony itself is all important. Observance or violation of the precepts would be, at best, a secondary concern. The failure of many Japanese Tendai monks to observe the precepts already had been mentioned above. A corollary result of the traditional Tendai interpretations had been an emphasis among Japanese monks upon the spiritual or magical efficacy of the ordination ceremony alone.

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[85]Ibid., 14:487-89.

[86]Ibid., 14:590-1.

[87]Compare ibid., 14:485, 490, 509, 522, 530, 531, 537, 541, 542, 567, 596, and: (a) *Fanwangjing*, fasc. 2, in *T*, 24:1004a, lines 19-21; and (b) *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 41a; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:269.

Precepts would be administered to laymen in order to cure illnesses, regardless of the laymen's interest in the meaning of the precepts.[88] The *Ryakushō* suggests that similar attitudes also continued to be found among Dōgen's disciples.

Early Sōtō Ordinations

The early Sōtō ordinations conducted by Dōgen and his disciples provided the new Sōtō community with the ability to accomplish three important tasks. Ordinations would function as powerful a means to attract and convert new lay patrons, as a means to recruit new Sōtō monks, and as a means to acquire the temples previously used by those monks for the Sōtō school. The regional expansion and popularization of the Sōtō school, therefore, is intimately related to the popularization of ordination ceremonies. These ceremonies were important from the first. Already in Dōgen's time, laymen regularly participated in the monthly precept recitations conducted at Eiheiji (see chapter 2). Their participation in the precept recitation ceremonies provided income to Eiheiji and spiritual reassurance for themselves. The laymen achieved ritual purity and symbolic unity with the monks by reciting the precepts together.[89] Ejō's *Zuimonki* reveals that Dōgen administered precepts to his lay patrons.[90] Earlier we discussed how Giin, Keizan, and Gasan also administered ordinations to their principal patrons. A statement attributed to Gikai accurately equates the Zen use of ordinations for laymen with the introductory consecration (*kechien kanjō*) used in

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[88]See Ishida Mizumaro, ed., *Bonmōkyō*, Butten Kōza, 14 (Tokyo: Daizō Shuppansha, 1971), 70-71.

[89]See *Tōkoku shingi*, fasc. 1, in *JDZ*, 292-93.

[90]Sec. 1 in *Koten bungaku-81*, 322-23; alt. in *DZZ*, 2:422-23.

Japanes esoteric Buddhism.[91] Both rituals establish a direct bond between a Buddhist teacher and his lay supporter.

The importance of ordinations for institutional independence can be demonstrated by contrasting Gikai's initial ordination training with that of Keizan.[92] Both Gikai and Keizan had been born in Echizen. Both went to local temples, Hajakuji for Gikai and Eiheiji for Keizan, to become monks. Gikai, however, had been unable to receive a proper ordination at Hajakuji. He could not become a proper monk because the Darumashū lacked its own ordination rituals. Therefore, Gikai had to travel to the Tendai ordination platform at Mt. Hiei. Presumably, all the arrangements for Gikai's ordination--his travel expenses, his residence and study at Mt. Hiei, and his introduction to the teacher conducting the ordination--had to be provided for in advance. In Gikai's time, rural monks who lacked the means for such a journey would never receive proper ordinations. If a monk did leave his home region to travel to Mt. Hiei, there was no guarantee that he would return. In contrast to Gikai, Keizan was able to receive his full ordination without having to leave the area of his birth. Keizan was able to conduct his entire Buddhist training in his home province of Eichizen, because the Sōtō school performed its own ordinations.

Instruction in the precept ordination rituals, therefore, constituted an indispensable part of a Sōtō Zen monk's training. Every monk would retain some memory of his own ordination, but that experience

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[91]"Bosatsukai sōden no koto," sec. of *Sanmoku issōji*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 63. Regarding this text, see Azuma, *Keizan Zenji no kenkyū*, 190-94.

[92]See chap. 3 (Gikai sec.) and *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:238b; alt. in *JDZ*, 395.

alone could not provide him with sufficient knowledge of how to prepare the special ritual instruments and documents, or of how to perform the complex series of gestures and ritual actions. Usually a monk would be initiated into the procedures for precept ordinations only when he succeeded to his master's dharma lineage. As revealed in Gikai's *Goyuigon*, he would be initiated both in dharma transmission and in precept ordination. For this reason, scholars usually regard the transmission of a precept ordination manual (such as the *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*) as evidence of dharma transmission. In the early Sōtō school, however, this does not seem to have been an invariable rule. Keizan, for example, received his dharma lineage from Gikai in 1295 although three years earlier (in 1292) he had learned the precept ordination procedures from Gien.[93]

Keizan's special circumstances at that time might have allowed him to be excepted from the usual practice. He had been residing at a rural temple in Awa for which he wished to ordain new Zen monks. When Keizan obtained his initiation from Gien, he immediately returned to Awa and ordained five monks. Within two years he had administered the precepts to more than seventy people.[94] The fate of Keizan's temple in Awa is unknown, but precept ordinations continued to play an important role in his founding of subsequent temples. As mentioned earlier, Keizan ordained twenty-eight new Zen monks in 1324 when he formally

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[93]See Keizan Jōkin, "Postscript" (1321:2:1), *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 42; and *Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:238; alt. in *JDZ*, 395.

[94]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:238b; alt. in *JDZ*, 399; and *Tōkoku goso gyōjitsu*, in *SZ*, *16*, *Shiden*, 1:595.

opened Sōjiji's monks' hall.[95] These new Zen monks probably represent converts from traditional Buddhism. Sōjiji previously had been administered by monks trained in Shingon ritual. If Sōjiji's former monks lacked a proper ordination in their own tradition, they might have wished to receive the precepts even from a teacher of another tradition. Examples of this type of ordination will be discussed below in relation to the mass precept ordination ceremonies conducted by later Sōtō leaders. In order to understand the special powers that came to be associated with the precepts, first we should examine the ordinations of *kami* and spirits that are mentioned in the biographies of many medieval Sōtō monks, beginning with Gasan's disciples.

Precepts for Kami and Spirits

Of Gasan's disciples, Gennō Shinshō (1329-1400) seems to have had the most encounters with *kami* and spirits. In a particularly well-known event during the summer of 1389 Gennō is said to have exorcized an evil spirit from the killing stone (*sesshōseki*) on Mt. Nasu by striking the stone with his staff as he recited a Zen verse, which included the line: ". . . *Genjō kōan* is the great difficulty."[96] Gennō's confrontation with the spirit of the killing stone (actually a volcanic rock that emits poisonous gas) is especially well celebrated in Japanese theater and literature, but this type of supernatural encounter is hardly unique. Japanese commonly believed that ascetic training could give certain monks the power to subdue evil spirits or to convert good

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[95]*Tōkokuki*, in *SG*, 16:234; alt. in *JDZ*, 430-31.

[96]Tenkai Kūkō (1348-1416), *Hōō Nōshō Zenji tōmei* (1400:10:17), in *SZ*, 17, *Shiden*, 2:278a. Even today insects that perch on the stone die. In Gennō's time gas from the stone also killed birds and small animals.

spirits into Buddhists (*shinjin kado*). Whether based in fact or not, such stories are a common hagiographical element in the biographies of illustrious monks. In Sōtō literature, these stories are particularly significant because of the use of precept ordinations as one of their standard motifs. Analysis of these stories can reveal both popular attitudes toward the precepts held by Sōtō monks and the types of social resistance that Sōtō monks must have met in their attempts to introduce new Zen temples into rural areas.[97] Just as the local shrines supported village unity, the local spirits symbolize traditional patters of religious worship. The conversion of these local spirits provided a religious justification for support of the new Zen temples without rejection of village customs.[98]

In Sōtō biographies, the most common type of supernatural story involves a local spirit or *kami* inviting a monk to found a new temple in his domain. For example, Rogaku Tōto (d.1470) reportedly lived in poverty for many years, subsisting on offerings occasionally left at a nearby cremation site. Then, one night during his meditation, a stranger approached him to request an ordination. The stranger confessed to having been reborn in the realm of reptiles and asked Rogaku to have compassion for him. When Rogaku had finished administering the precepts, the reptile spirit instantly attained

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[97]See Hanuki, "Tōmon Zensō to shinjin kado no setsuwa" 44-51; and Hirose Ryōkō, "Sōtō Zensō ni okeru shinjin kado-akurei chin'atsu," *IBK*, 21:2 (March 1963), 233-36. Hirose analyzed 54 accounts of supernatural encounters found in vol. 16 (*Shiden* 1) of *SZ*, identifying 15 standard motifs, 5 of which involve precept ordinations. The following description of Sōtō supernatural encounters incorporates many of the conclusions found in these two articles.

[98]W. Michael Kelsey, "Salvation of the Snake, the Snake of Salvation: Buddhist-Shinto Conflict and Resolution," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 8:1-2 (March-June 1981), 83-113.

liberation from his fate. In thanks, he led Rogaku down to a valley next to a marsh and told him to build a temple there. Looking down, Rogaku found the dead body of a large white snake. When the local villagers heard of the departure of the snake spirit, they all came to help Rogaku build his temple.[99]

In another story, Ryōan Emyō (1337-1411) is said to have been walking down a rural roadway when a large man appeared and offered to serve as a guide. The guide led Ryōan deep into an uncharted valley, pointed to a distant mountain and said, "That mountain is best for you." Ryōan became frightened, but the guide reassured him: "Do not be afraid. I am the *kami* of that mountain." When Ryōan began to construct a temple on the mountain indicated by the *kami*, all the local people, both noble and base, came to help him. The work was soon completed because all the raw materials for building the temple were found in abundance right on the mountain. Later, when Ryōan began training students at the new temple, his disciples noticed that every night two strangers entered the abbot's building for secret instruction in Zen. When asked, Ryōan refused to say who the strangers were. Ryōan's disciples, however, following the mysterious students as they left the temple grounds and discovered that they were *kami* from the mountain.[100]

As seen in these two examples, stories of this type depict the new Zen temple being introduced into a remote region by the direct

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[99]*Nichiiki*, fasc. 2, and *Rentōroku*, fasc. 7, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:77a, 368b. This story concerns the founding of Ryūkeiji ("Snake Valley Temple"; Aichi Pref.) in 1444. Although Rogaku Tōto actually founded this temple, he listed his teacher Morin Shihan (1392-1487) as the temple's official founder.

[100]*Nichiiki*, fasc. 1, and *Rentōroku*, fasc. 3, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:55b, 273-74. This story concerns the founding of Saijōji (Kanagawa Pref.) in 1394.

request of the local supernatural powers. The Zen teacher merely responds to their needs. This type of story invariably concerns rural Sōtō temples that were founded without the patronage of any one powerful warrior family.[101] These temples were the ones most in need of broad-based support and the most vulnerable to local religious conflicts. In the first example, the power of the precepts frees a suffering spirit, thereby liberating his locality from evil influences. The second example does not mention the precepts directly, but there is no doubt that the private study of Zen by the *kami* would have begun with precept ordinations. Both stories emphasize that the new temple is not a threat to preexisting local religious sentiments or practices. Also, during an age when much new land was being opened for cultivation for the first time, the stories offer reassurance that the new construction and land use is welcomed by the local spiritual powers. Especially in the second example, the people's support of the new Zen temple and their exploitation of the mountain's resources both are represented as fulfilling the desire of the local *kami*, while the study of Zen by the *kami* demonstrates the superior power of the new Zen teacher. Moreover, that superior power is depicted as being the result not just of the Zen master's ascetic training but also of his ability to administer the precepts.

Stories of supernatural encounters that concern already existing temples most often describe the creation of new mountain springs or the discovery of new mountain lakes. For example, Jochū Tengin reportedly had been led to the site of his future temple by the bodhisattva Kannon. After the temple had been built however, the local

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[101]See Hanuki, "Zenshū no hatten to jippō danna," 112-32.

mountain *kami* came to the abbot's building in the middle of the night to request a precept ordination. When Jochū had completed the ordination, in return the *kami* promised to create a new mineral spring for the area. The next morning a small earthquake opened the new spring just as the *kami* had promised. The temple monks quickly informed the local villages that they would be supplied with mineral water.[102]

The link to sources of mountain water in this type of story is particularly significant because of the importance of water in rural Japanese agriculture. Village prosperity depended upon it. In popular Japanese religion, the mountains are seen both as the home of the *kami* and as the source of that precious water.[103] In these stories, therefore, the presence of the Zen temple on the mountain is portrayed not only as being pleasing to the mountain *kami* but also as having a beneficial influence on an important source of local prosperity. In fact, many Zen monks might have been particularly adept at locating new sources of water. As Hu Shih has pointed out, the Zen practice of regular pilgrimages from teacher to teacher gave Zen monks an excellent education in practical technology and topography.[104] In these stories, however, not specialized knowledge but the power of their precepts allowed Zen teachers to bring new sources of water to the locality.

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[102]*Nichiiki*, fasc. 2, and *Rentōroku*, fasc. 4, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:63-64, 296b. These events are said to have happened at Daitōin (Shizuoka Pref.) in 1411.

[103]Hori, *Folk Religion in Japan*, 150-51.

[104]"Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism in China: Its History and Method," 22-23. This same point in regard to the ability to locate new sources of water also is mentioned by Hirose, "Sōtō Zensō ni okeru shinjin kado-akurei chin'atsu," 236.

Another important aspect of these stories is that they attribute to Zen teachers and to their precepts the power to provide salvation to evil spirits, such as the killing stone or Rogaku Tōto's snake. This belief contributed to the association of precept ordinations and funerals. The most frightening evil spirits can arise from the wrathful dead. Funerals rites usually are associated with ancestor worship, but rituals to prevent hauntings by ghosts and to effect their spiritual peace also are major concerns. As will be explained in the next chapter, precept ordinations form an integral part of Zen funerals. It is not unusual, therefore, for supernatural stories in Sōtō biographies to combine both hauntings by ghosts and precept ordinations (see fig. 7).

For example, Gennō reportedly was traveling through Hōki when he encountered the ghost of the wife of Shimazu Atsutada, the lord of Kasuga castle.[105] A lifetime of evil deeds had led the deceased wife to suffer the torments of hell. Every night as she attempted to escape, her ghost appeared, shrieking outside of her grave. The local people were afraid to go out after dark. Gennō confronted the ghost, teaching her that anyone who repented of their evil deeds could be saved. That night Atsutada dreamed that his wife had become a Buddha. The next morning he discovered that it was Gennō who had led her to salvation and in thanks he pledged his financial support to Gennō.

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[105]Kōzan Tetsuma, *Taikyūji yuraiki* (1833), in *ZSZ*, 10, *Jishi*, 135-36. This story concerns the founding of Taikyūji (Tottori Pref.) in 1356.

FIGURE 7

ADMINISTERING THE PRECEPTS TO A GHOST



The caption reads: "A monk saves the baleful spirit of [Hatano] Yoshishige's concubine by administering the master's [i.e., Dōgen's] *kechimyaku* [i.e., lineage chart]." The source of this supposed encounter is unknown. Illustration by Zuikō Chingyū and Daiken Hōju, *Teiho Kenzeiki zue* (1806), fasc. 1, in *SZ*, 17, *Shiden*, 2:100.

Shortly thereafter, Atsutada told Gennō that for several nights he had observed a light shine out of the sea to a certain spot on a nearby mountain. Gennō interpreted the light as evidence that a Buddhist spirit must be hidden in the mountain. Atsutada, however, told him that at the foot of the mountain lay a pond in which lived an evil dragon. On occasion, the dragon had prevented crops from growing and attacked the local people. Gennō walked over to the mountain, discovering with his own eyes that the lands lay wasted, the crops in ruins. The local villagers begged Gennō to stay and protect them from the dragon. Gennō walked over to the pond. Suddenly, the wind began howling and the surface of the water boiled. The dragon appeared from out of the pond and began to approach Gennō. To stop the dragon's movements, Gennō chanted scripture. Then, as soon as the dragon became still, Gennō administered the precepts. The dragon was transformed instantly into Kannon bodhisattva and disappeared into the sky. By the next morning the baleful pond was gone. At that site Atsutada erected a new Zen temple (Taikyūji) for Gennō.

Two other stories, while not containing standard motifs, also are particularly revealing for the way they depict the power of the precepts. The first concerns Tsūgen Jakurei and his disciple Ikkei Eishū (d.1403). While Tsūgen was teaching at Yōtakuji, Ikkei noticed that a woman always sneaked into the back of the room to listen to Tsūgen's lectures. Ikkei confronted the strange woman, demanding to know who she was and what she wanted. She replied that her karmic retribution had cause her to be reborn as a snake and that she wanted only to be freed from that unpleasant fate. Ikkei responded that he would allow her to stay only if she could answer one question: "Since

retribution is originally nonsubstantial (*kū*), from what do you wish to be freed?" The snake woman, however, confessed that she was unable to understand the question. At this point, Tsūgen came forward and administered the precepts to the snake woman. She instantly regained her former body and bowed down nine times in thanks.[106] In this story, even someone who cannot fathom the logic of Zen enlightenment can attain salvation merely by relying upon the power of the precepts. The obvious implication is that if a layman merely receives an ordination, then actual Zen training or understanding is not necessary. As will be seen below, this approach to Zen as a religion for laymen represents one of the major developments of medieval Sōtō.

Our last story concerns Gennō's experiences in Iwashiro. In 1375 Gennō converted an old temple (Jigenji) from its original affiliation with the Shingon school into a Sōtō monastery. According to one story, Gennō's conversion of the temple actually originated with the local *kami*, who requested Gennō to take over control of the temple. At first, Gennō refused: "That monastery is full of students of esoteric Buddhism. How could they allow me to be abbot?" The *kami*, however, replied that he intended to drive the other monks out of the monastery because they failed to observe the precepts. The *kami* wanted Zen monks to live in the temple because the *kami* admired their strict observance of the Zen regulations. As predicted by the *kami*, there soon occurred a series of explosions that threw large rocks into the sky and knocked over nearby trees. All the Shingon monks fled. After everything

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[106]Meikyoku Sokushō, *Yōtakuji Tsūgen Zenji gyōgō* (1751), in *SZ*, 17, *Shiden*, 2:270b.

settled down, Gennō moved into the temple in accordance with the *kami*'s request.[107]

This story not only emphasizes the importance of the precepts but also contrasts the strictness of Zen monastic discipline with the laxity exhibited in other Buddhist sects in order to justify the transfer of local support to the new Zen monks. During the medieval period, the sectarian conversion of rural chapels to Zen was a common phenomenon. The majority of new Sōtō temples founded during this period were not physically new, but originally had been used by monks from other Buddhist schools.[108] The strict discipline of Zen monks greatly impressed many of their early warrior sponsors. This story, however, indicates that another related cause of Sōtō growth lay in the failure of the older schools of Buddhism to maintain the loyalty of the local populace. The civil disturbances of the medieval period eroded faith in the efficacy of previous religious institutions.[109] Even monks from other schools often abandoned their former modes of practice in order to study under Sōtō teachers. For example, Esai Sensō's teacher Shingan Dōkū (1374-1449) had studied Shingon until an encounter with Jochū Tengin convinced him of its inadequacy.[110] Both in the observance of monastic rules and in the performance of Buddhist rituals, the Zen monks provided a higher level of professionalism than previously available in rural areas.

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[107] *Gennō Zenjiden*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 9:329.

[108] See Sakauchi, "Sōtōshū ni okeru mikkyō no juyō," 39.

[109] Hirose, "Sōtō Zensō ni okeru shinjin kado-akurei chin'atsu," 235.

[110] *Rentōroku*, fasc. 5, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:324. Other examples will be discussed below in the section on mass ordination ceremonies.

These hagiographical stories of encounters with the supernatural strongly link the spiritual power of Sōtō masters to the power of the precepts. Simple ordinations with the precepts are depicted as having the power to subdue evil, to prevent hauntings by ghosts, and to deliver one from the karmic consequences of evil deeds. Significantly, the precepts are shown as being more powerful than other possible centers of local religious veneration. Ordination alone appears capable of replacing the need for spiritual cultivation or Zen training. These popular attitudes, of course, cannot be attributed directly to the monks who are the subjects of the biographies. Rather, they represent the results of the popularization of Sōtō precept ordinations that occurred sometime between the medieval-period founding of these temples and the early Tokugawa period when most of these stories first reached written form. Medieval writings on precept ordinations focus on the concrete details of the ceremonies, with little explanation of their meaning or importance.

The Sōtō initiation documents (*kirikami*), however, do contain some clues as to how the precepts for spirits and *kami* were viewed within the context of Zen training.[111] *Kirikami* about ordination ceremonies reflect the importance of these ceremonies in medieval Sōtō. They describe not only the ordinations administered to new monks and to laymen but also special ordinations for all types of beings, from *kami* to animals, from emperors to dead men. As indicated by the above stories, each Sōtō monastery usually had its own special *kami* or protective spirit. In the Sōtō school these protective *kami* are known

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[111]See Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui," pt. 6, 138-40.

by the generic term "*ryūten.*" Zen monks were expected not only to be able to provide ordinations for the *ryūten*, but also to chant scripture for them as well. Significantly, Sōtō monks did not conceive of these rituals as supplications of a superior being. Instead, Sōtō *kirikami* describe the *ryūten* as being on the same inferior level as ordinary people because they lack the Buddhist precepts necessary for enlightenment.[112] Moreover, in some Sōtō *kirikami* the *ryūten* were described as being abstract symbols, not real beings.

For example, a *sanwa* (i.e., *kōan*) initiation document passed down in the Ryōan line states that *ryūten* are personifications of the same mind possessed naturally by all men. According to this document, we do not realize that the *ryūten* exist within each of us because we literally believe that *kami* protect Buddhism in exchange for having received the precepts. It states, however, that the real *ryūten* are the original mind realized during Zen meditation. If one realizes that original mind, then one sees that there are no external *ryūten*. Evil actions, however, will cause that original mind to dissolve away.[113] In other words, it is not the power of the precepts that cause *kami* to protect Buddhism, but the implementation of the precepts through Zen meditation that protects Buddhism. In this document, precept ordination for *kami*, which might seeme more related to popular folk religion than to Zen practice, are redefined through *kōan* language in order to produce

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[112]*Ryūten jukai kirikami*, transmitted 1595:12:13 by Hanshitsu Ryōei, rpt. in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui," pt. 6, 136-37.

[113]*Ryūten no san*, in *Bukke ichi daiji yawa*, rpt. in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui," pt. 2, 148. In this document, there are three different sections titled "*Ryūten no san,*" each of which examines this concept from a different perspective.

a unique Zen interpretation of this practice. In typical Zen fashion, the question of *ryūten* is turned into a reflection upon the depth and purity of one's own religious practice.

Mass Precept Ordination Ceremonies

During the medieval period, Sōtō teachers regularly conducted mass precept ordination ceremonies (*jukaie*). These ceremonies required a group of laymen to live together with a Sōtō teacher and other monks for a set number of days to study Zen, after which the laymen would participate in the mass ordination itself and each one would receive their own personal precept-lineage chart (*kechimyaku*). The development of these ceremonies is obscure. The earliest manuals describing how mass ordination ceremonies should be conducted were written in the Tokugawa period.[114] Yet scattered references to precepts in the *goroku* and biographies of medieval-period Sōtō monks indicate that ordinations were conducted for large numbers of laymen other than temple patrons from a much earlier period. For example, the *goroku* of Shōdō Kōsei includes one comment that is labeled as having been addressed to a precept assembly (*kaishū*).[115] The early popularization of ordinations also is suggested by the fact that the Hottō-line monk Kohō Kakumyō (who originally had been Keizan's disciple) encouraged his own disciples to issue Sōtō-style *kechimyaku* as a means of attracting lay support. Kohō's disciple Bassui Tokushō, however, rejected precept lineage charts

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[114]One of the earliest is Menzan Zuihō, *Jakushū Eifuku oshō sekkai* (1752; pub. 1760), in *SZ*, 3, *Zenkai*, 141-75. Until Hirose Ryōkō's research (see below), many Sōtō scholars commonly assigned the development of formal mass ordination ceremonies to the late seventeenth century. See, for example, Nakano Tōzen, "Sōtōshū no sekkai no kyōkajō no seikaku," *IBK*, 18:2 (March 1970): 302-4.

[115]*Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 3, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:454a.

as false, physical representations of what actually should be a nonmaterial transmission process.[116] Bassui's criticism is particularly significant because it suggests that *kechimyaku* assumed unique meaning within the Sōtō school. These fragmentary references to precept ordinations, however, are insufficient for studying the actual circumstances of the ceremonies themselves.

Since 1976 documentary records of medieval-period mass ordination ceremonies also have been discovered. These records consist of only two texts, each one of which describes the activities of only one of the following two monks: Gekiō Sōjun (1433-1488), a disciple of Esai Sensō, and Gekiō's disciple, Shikō Sōden (d.1500).[117] Gekiō's mass ordinations are recorded only for the eleven-year period 1477-1488. The record of Shikō's mass ordinations is even more limited. It covers only nine months during 1491-1492. One of the texts also lists eight earlier Sōtō teachers in the same lineage (beginning with Jochū Tengin) who also conducted similar mass ordinations.[118] The available documents,

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[116]Tsūhō Meidō, *Bassui oshō gyōjitsu*, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, 9:638-39. For this reference, I am indebted to Hirose Ryōkō, "Chūsei rinka Zenrin no fukyō katsudō: Sōtō Zen no jukaie ni tsuite," *IBK*, 24:2 (March 1976): 136.

[117]These two texts are the *Kechimyakushū* (Gekiō Sōjun's mass ordination ceremonies conducted between 1477:7:17 and 1488:2:10) and the *Shōshichō* (Shikō Sōden's mass ordination ceremonies conducted between 1491:10:10 and 1492:7:17), both of which were recopied during the Kan'ei period (1624-1643). See Hirose Ryōkō, "Chūsei rinka Zenrin no fukyō katsudō: Sōtō Zen no jukaie ni tsuite," 136-37.

[118]The *Kechimyakushū* contains the following list of dates, names of Sōtō teachers and numbers of laymen who received precepts: 1418--Jochū Tengin, 902 people; 1438--Hōzan Ajō, 119 people; 144?--Getsuin Shōsho [d.1433], 331 people; 1452--Morin Shihan, 256 people; 1462:8:3--Ungaku Tōgen [d.1491], 89 people; 1474--Sōshi Shōtai [1414-1496], 157 people; 1478--Sekichū Eisan [d.1487], 203 people; Seizen Dōseki [1434-1518], 146 people; 1487--Gekiō Sōjun, 276 people. The meaning of this list and of its entries are unclear. See Hirose Ryōkō, "Chūsei Zensō to jukaie: Aichiken Chitagun Kenkon'inzō 'Kechimyakushū' 'Shōshichū' no bunseki wo chūshin to shite," in *Minzoku shigaku no hōhō*, Kiyo Shūichi Sensei Kiju Kinen Ronbunshū, 3 (Tokyo: Yūsankaku, 1977),

therefore, record the activities of only two teachers, during only a short period of time, who were active in only one geographic region (modern Aichi Pref.).

Yet in spite of their limited scope, these records provide a clear glimpse of how mass precept ordinations (in at least one Sōtō lineage) functioned in medieval Japan. These two texts do not describe the content of the ceremonies, the nature of the Zen study, the precepts used, nor the content of the sermons delivered by the Zen masters. Evidently, the ceremonies already had assumed a standard format that did not need to be recorded. Each text, however, does contain detailed entries for each mass ordination that list the names, occupations and places of residence of each of the participants as well as the dates and locations where the ceremonies were conducted. From this information, Hirose Ryōkō (the scholar responsible for discovering these two texts) has made an exhaustive study of the social relationships between the lay participants, the Sōtō teachers and the regional temples involved in these mass ordination ceremonies.[119] The following account is based on Hirose's findings, supplemented with information derived from the fragmentary evidence available in other medieval sources.

The mass ordination ceremonies conducted by Gekiō and Shikō followed a basic pattern. Often the ceremonies concluded on Buddhist holidays, such as the anniversary of the Buddha's birth, or the equinox (*higan*; literally "the other shore").[120] The ceremonies were conducted

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357.

[119]Ibid., 305-59.

[120]The dates of the ordination ceremonies listed in the *Kechimyakushū* and *Shōshichō* are listed in ibid., 314-18, 320.

not only at the home temples of the Sōtō masters but also at other small temples or village chapels within the same region.[121] Often the monks from these local temples would act as intermediaries, helping to organize the event and to bring nearby residents to the ceremony. Both monks and laymen who participated in a mass ordination also sometimes would appear in later ceremonies as intermediaries for other people from their home village.[122] As in other forms of rural Japanese religion, these intermediaries provided a crucial link in the introduction and popularization of Sōtō among the lower levels of society.

Participants in the ceremonies, in fact, did come from all levels of rural society. Regionally powerful lords and commoners, merchants and blind men, river boatmen and servant women all would attend the same ceremonies. The ordination records identify, in addition to the occupations named above, participants who were sake brewers, dyers, metal workers, carpenters, actors, shrine celebrants, *yamabushi* and young boys (who, according to Hirose, probably were romantic interests of the monks).[123] This wide mix of social classes confirms that by the late fifteenth century Sōtō Zen monks had broad contact with all levels of rural society. The ability of Sōtō monks to appeal to people from lower social levels probably also had the reverse effect of strengthening patronage by powerful warrior lords. This is because the value of the Zen temple as a symbol of the patron's power

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[121]Forty-two locations where Gekiō and Shikō conducted ordination ceremonies are listed in ibid., 326-30.

[122]The intermediaries are analyzed in ibid., 322-25.

[123]Participants in the ordination ceremonies are listed according to social class, familial relationships and occupations in ibid., 349-56.

increased as the popularity of the temple spread within local society.[124] Usually, the participants in the mass ordination ceremonies would gather from several different villages. Not surprisingly, all of these villages would be situated within the domain of the same warrior family that sponsored the Sōtō temple within that area.[125] Occasionally, however, mass ordinations also were conducted for groups of people from just a single village.[126]

The ceremonies seem to have lasted about three days, but not everyone had to attend the entire event. For example, Gekiō conducted one mass ordination ceremony at Ichiunsai (a temple founded by Sensō), during the equinoctial week (i.e., 12th-17th) of the eighth month of 1480 for 118 laymen, who were brought in by 4 intermediaries, from 11 villages, some of which were located more than 20 kilometers away. Nine of the participants were labeled as having received only the *kechimyaku* (*kechi bakari*), presumably because they attended only during the ordination on the last day of the event.[127] The laymen who did attend from beginning to end probably would hear lectures on the importance of the precepts directly from the Zen master and learn something of basic Buddhist teachings and the life style of Zen monks. The personal contact between the Zen master and the individual laymen would create especially strong bonds. As initiation rituals, therefore, the ordination ceremonies had three main functions: (1) to induct the

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[124]Ibid., 357-58.

[125]Ibid., 347-48.

[126]For maps showing the names and locations of villages represented at the ordination ceremonies, see ibid., 335, 340.

[127]Ibid., 333-37. Regarding the term "*kechi bakari*," also see Hirose, "Chūsei rinka Zenrin no fukyō katsudō," 137.

participants into Buddhism, (2) to provide the participants with communion or fellowship with the Zen monks, and (3) to establish in each participant strong personal links to the Sōtō school.

The mass precept ordinations offered laymen spiritual assurance in this world and promised salvation in the next. In this sense, the ordination ceremonies also functioned as rituals of spiritual transformation. During the two to three days of the ceremonies, laymen would learn of the good karmic result they would receive and would learn of the power of the precepts to subdue evil. Sōtō ordination texts further state that the ordination in itself directly introduces one to the same level of enlightenment as that of the Buddha.[128] For example, the lectures of Chiō Eishū (1371-1426) include the statement that:

> The Buddha's precepts are the most important affair of our school. Since antiquity they have been transmitted from Buddha to patriarch down to me. When sentient beings awaken to the great [*bodhi* seeking] mind and receive the precepts, then they attain the same level of great enlightenment as the level of the Buddhas.[129]

Sōtō Zen religious symbols further emphasized the power of the ordinations. The Zen teacher would individually anoint each participant with sanctified water (*shasui*).[130] More importantly, each participant also would receive a *kechimyaku*. This chart lists the names of all the Zen patriarchs, beginning with the Buddha himself and continuing through the famous masters of China, who have transmitted the precepts down to the present Sōtō teacher and through him to the laymen. The laymen's

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[128]*Baisan oshō kaihōron*, attributed to Baisan Monpon (d.1417), in *SZ*, 3, *Zenkai*, 1a; and *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 41a; alt. *DZZ*, 2:269.

[129]*Rentōroku*, fasc. 5, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:335b.

[130]See *Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō*, in *ZSZ*, 1, *Shūgen hoi*, 37b; alt. *DZZ*, 2:264; and Sugimoto, *Zōtei Tōjō shitsunai kirikami*, 164-69.

name would be directly linked to the Buddha by a red line that signifies his Zen "blood lineage." Sōtō monks taught that this chart was ultimate proof of one's own unity with the Buddha.[131] Such a tangible guarantee of salvation had great appeal. The chart was viewed as a special talisman. Only Zen monks claimed to be able to transmit to laymen such a direct link to the Buddha. The value of the *kechimyaku* also was enhanced by the fact that for most of the rural participants in these ceremonies, it probably would have been the first document to ever have recorded their name.[132] This name, of course, would be a special Buddhist name that they would receive as part of the ordination, thereby making it even more valuable.

The ordination ceremonies strengthen secular ties as well. For example, when a daughter from the Mizuno family, the main patrons of the Kenkon'in (Gekiō's own temple), married into a family from Mikawa, her husband and members of his family also participated in an ordination ceremony that Gekiō conducted at the Kenkon'in.[133] Likewise, when a locally powerful warrior participated in an ordination ceremony, his retainers also would be obligated to join in as an expression of unity. Lists of participants from the same village often begin with the name of the village head (referred to as *dono*), and names of family heads invariably are followed by the names of their wives, family members and workers (all identified as *uchikata*) who participated in the same ceremonies together with them. Because the ordination documents

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[131]*Kechimyaku no san*, in *Bukke ichi daiji yawa*, rpt. in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui," pt. 2, 144.

[132]Hirose Ryōkō, "Zensō no katsudō to chihō bunka: Sonraku no jūmin to kaimyō," *Rekishi kōron*, 3:10 (Oct. 1977), 78-79.

[133]Hirose, "Chūsei Zensō to jukaie," 340-42.

carefully record social status and family relationships, there is no doubt that the Sōtō monks observed existing social hierarchies when dealing with the participants during the ceremonies. The deference shown by Sōtō monks to the village lords would enhance the prestige enjoyed by these village leaders, even as the ceremonies united villagers as a whole. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the mass ordination ceremonies provided a rare occasion for the average person to escape the confines of his or her own village, as a whole the ceremonies tended to reinforce existing social relationships, power structures, and village unity.[134]

The religious and social functions of the mass ordination ceremonies functioned in parallel. The main theme would be unity. Each of the participants in the ordination ceremonies were linked to three powerful types of symbols, namely, the *kechimyaku* (which represented the promise of enlightenment and salvation), the master who administered the precepts (who represented the authority of the Sōtō transmission and the local Sōtō temple), and the local leaders also participating in the same ceremony (who represented the secular social order). The participants received spiritual assurance, the Sōtō master received more patronage, and the local lord received enhanced social prestige.

The mass ordination ceremonies also helped convert village temples or chapels to the Sōtō school. The ordinations would be conducted at any type of local Buddhist chapel regardless of its original sectarian status. According to Hirose's calculations, approximately fifteen percent of the people listed as participants later

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[134]Hirose, "Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō," 153-54; and "Chūsei Zensō to jukaie," 337-39, 357.

were involved in another ordination. Most of these were the residents of non-Sōtō temples who had first received the Sōtō precepts themselves and later acted as an intermediary for a subsequent ceremony held at their own temple. The Sōtō ceremonies provided an opportunity for self-styled Buddhists who lacked a formal ordination to properly complete their induction into Buddhism and to vow to observe the precepts. Later, these monks could gain prestige for themselves and their temple by acting as representatives of the Sōtō teacher. This process often led to the absorption of local temples into the Sōtō school.[135]

For example, there is a small village temple known as Hōonji (located in Noma, Chita Peninsula), which, according to its own records, had been converted from the Shingon school to Sōtō in 1513 by the monk Unkan Shusō. The records for Gekiō's mass ordinations, however, reveal that Unkan already had participated in an ordination ceremony in 1477. Then, one year later Gekiō conducted another ceremony at Hōonji itself. In 1491, Unkan acted as an intermediary for another ordination ceremony conducted by Shikō. The conversions of both Unkan and Hōonji, therefore, had roots in their earlier involvement in Sōtō mass ordination ceremonies.[136] Evidence of similar patterns also is found in relation to other local temples. For example, ordination ceremonies were conducted at a chapel known as Jōshōan (later known as Jōshōji) in 1477 and at another small temple, Sōgenji, in 1484. Yet the records of these temples state that Shōjōji had been founded in 1528 and that Sōgenji had been converted to the Sōtō school in 1534. In each case, the actual links to the Sōtō school date back about fifty years earlier

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[135] "Chūsei Zensō to jukaie," 324-25.

[136] Ibid., 318.

than the formal conversion of the temples.[137] These conversions of rural chapels through ordination of their resident monks parallel the supernatural stories of temples being converted to Sōtō upon the ordination of their local *kami*.[138]

The records of Sōtō ordination ceremonies do not specify which sets of Buddhist precepts were taught. As explained above, Dōgen's ordination manuals refer to a special grouping of precepts in sixteen articles. However, it is not clear to what extent these were used for laymen. Gikai's *Goyuigon* mentions that Dōgen had a woodblock of the eight precepts to be observed by laymen on special days.[139] Presumably, this woodblock would have been for printing the text of these eight precepts for distribution to laymen, but it is not known if that had been done. Shōdō Kōsei's *goroku* reveals that he had administered to laymen only five precepts in addition to the three refuges.[140] His use of only five precepts would correspond to the Hīnayāna number of only five precepts for laymen, but Shōdō probably had used the first five precepts from the *Bonmōkyō*. Kikuin Zuitan's *goroku* reveals that he had administered to laymen all fifty-eight precepts of the *Bonmōkyō*.[141] Moreover, the *Shukke ryakusahō* (an ordination manual used in both Japanese Rinzai and Sōtō lineages) describes an odd sequence of thirty-one precepts, namely, the three refuges, the five precepts of a layman,

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[137]Ibid., 319, 330.

[138]Hirose, "Sōtō Zensō ni okeru shinjin kado-akurei chin'atsu," 236.

[139]Entry dated 1253:8:3, in *SBGZST*, 20:822; alt. *DZZ*, 2:499.

[140]*Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fascs. 4-5, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:497b, 500a, 526a.

[141]*Kikuin oshō agyo*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:532-36.

the ten precepts of a novice, the three pure precepts, and the ten precepts of a full monk.[142] Therefore in medieval Sōtō, different teachers seem to have been free to administer different sets of precepts.

Although the mass ordination ceremonies centered upon the transmission of the precepts, it is not clear to what extent the Sōtō teachers actually expected participants to observe the precepts in daily life. It seems likely that both Sōtō teachers and lay participants viewed the main function of the ordination as being the establishment of a karmic link to Buddhism, not as the teaching of morality. The first precept of the *Bonmōkyō* obligates one not to take life, yet during the civil strife of medieval Japan the first obligation of warriors was to fight for their leaders. Reflecting upon this contradiction, Shōdō Kōsei lamented that although the most important precepts forbid killing and stealing, those are the number one pastimes of the age.[143] Consider, for example, the warrior oath Kikuchi Takemori presented to Kōfukuji (a Sōtō monastery sponsored by the Kikuchi family) in 1338. Takemori vowed to protect the southern court and to never lose the spirit of the warrior (*bushi no kokoro*). He further pledged to always support Buddhism (*shōbō*) and outlawed the taking of life during the six Buddhist days of each month (i.e., the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23d, 29th, and

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[142]*DZZ*, 2:272-75 n. This list corresponds to the *Kaihō no honji*, in *Sho ekō shingishiki*, in *T*, 81:676c-78a.

[143]Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:404b. Shōdō was equally critical of the widespread failure of Zen monks to observe the precepts either. See fasc. 2 of the above, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:425b.

30th). Yet he made no attempt to reconcile the spirit of the warrior with the Buddhist prohibition against the taking of life.[144]

Shōdō Kōsei viewed the causes of armed conflicts to lie in the decline of ethical relationships. He criticized commoners for failing to obey their lords and criticized lords for failing to rule with compassion.[145] Shōdō taught that monks should single-mindedly rely upon the three refuges and practice the ten major precepts, but he urged laymen only to inwardly believe in the Buddha and the community of monks while outwardly mastering Confucian ethics and practicing the Confucian social norms.[146] This same combination of inward Buddhism and outward Confucianism is also found in the writings of warriors who patronized Sōtō teachers.[147] Gekiō Sōjun (one of the Sōtō teachers for whose ordination ceremonies records exist) had been a Confucian scholar before becoming a Sōtō monk.[148] Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that moral teachings for the lay participant of Sōtō mass ordination ceremonies also emphasized Confucian social ethics rather than just Buddhist spiritual values.[149]

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[144]*Kikuchi Takemori kishōjō* (1338:3:15), in *Komonjo*, no. 679, 1:543-45; and Hirose, "Chūsei no Zensō-Zenji to rinri-chitsujo," 163-67.

[145]*Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 3, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:458b; and Hirose, "Zensō to sengoku shakai," 393-95.

[146]*Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:393a.

[147]See, for example, Kikuchi Takenao, *Kikuchi Takenao kishōmon* (1342:3:17), and Kikuchi Takesada et al., *Kikuchi Takesada nado rokumei rensho kishōjō* (1342:5:3), in *Komonjo*, nos. 685-86, 1:548-49.

[148]Satō Etsujō, "Gekiō Sōjun to Owari no Sōtōshū," pt. 1, *SG*, 27 (1985): 99-104; pt. 2, *SG*, 28 (1986): 124-30.

[149]Hirose, "Zensō to sengoku shakai," 406.

These mass precept ordination ceremonies played a crucial role in the popularization and regional expansion of Japanese Sōtō. The ceremonies represented both a unique approach to Sōtō Zen and a method of proselytization unique to the Sōtō school. They offered tangible assurance of salvation to laymen in a way that retained a strong sectarian "Zen" identity, but which required no extensive Zen practice. While, the full content of the ceremonies is not known, the group participation of the laymen probably reinforced existing social relationships. Most significantly, the mass ordinations popularize the image of Sōtō Zen as being able to provide laymen with a ritual link to the Buddha. This same approach characterizes the development of Sōtō Zen funeral services for laymen.

CHAPTER 8

ZEN FUNERALS

The regional dissemination of Japanese Zen Buddhism, and of the Sōtō school in particular, lies rooted in the development and popularization of Zen Buddhist funeral services. The fact that Japanese Zen became strongly associated with the popularization of funeral rites might seem surprising, since Buddhist funerals for laymen had been known in Japan since the beginning of the eighth century. As early as 703 the imperial family had adapted some Buddhist funeral practices when the late Empress Jitō was cremated.[1] Lesser nobles probably had adopted Buddhist cremations even earlier.[2] Initially, however, only the wealthy nobility sought to augment native rites with Buddhist exorcisms and scripture recitations, presumably because only they could afford the necessary expenses and could understand something of the doctrines of *karma*, rebirth, and transference of merit, upon which Buddhist rituals are based. Rural areas, in contrast, generally lacked the trained Buddhist clergy and economic prosperity required for elaborate rites. Even permanent burial grounds probably did not exist in rural villages.[3] Therefore, Buddhist funerals were not widely popularized until the

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[1]*Soku Nihongi*, fasc. 2, entry for 702:12, in *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei*, 2:16.

[2]Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, 1, *Jōseihen*, 85.

[3]Yanagida Kunio, "Sōsei no enkaku ni tsuite" (1929), rpt. in *Teihon Yanagida Kunioshū* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1969), 15:501.

medieval period, when Sōtō and the other new Buddhist schools expanded into the countryside.[4]

This chapter focuses only on the popularization of funerals within the medieval Sōtō school. First we will examine the funeral rituals described by Chinese Chan monastic regulations. These monastic rituals formed the basis of the rites Sōtō monks perform for laymen. Moreover, these Chinese monastic codes provided Sōtō monks with a standardized series of rituals based on Confucian sentiments. As will be seen below, this standardization not only allowed the rites to be mastered easily but also allowed for easy simplification or elaboration to suit a variety of social contexts. The lay funeral rites performed in earlier Japanese Buddhist schools seem to have lacked similar standardization.[5] A variety of disparate rituals might be performed at different temples depending upon the requests of the individual mourners. Only rituals performed at the cremation site directly involved the deceased and his mourners. The funeral of Emperor Goichijō (d.1036), for example, involved rites performed at seven different temples, ranging from esoteric fire invocation ceremonies (*goma*) to simple chanting of the Buddha's name (*nenbutsu*). Records of the discussions held by the government ministers directing the funeral reveal that earlier precedents--not doctrinal consistency--largely

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[4]Tamamuro, *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 211-22.

[5]See Tamamuro, *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 100-12; and Nakata Hisao, "Heian jidai no kizoku no sōsei: Toku ni jūichi seiki wo chūshin to shite," in *Haka no rekishi*, ed. Uwai Hisayashi, Sōsō Bosei Kenkyū Shūsei, 5 (Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan, 1979) 183-204.

determined the selection and order of the rituals.[6] In contrast, the Chinese Chan monastic codes provide an integrated series of rituals performed at a single temple and clearly focused on the deceased. For this reason, the new rites introduced by medieval Zen monks defined the standards that also would be emulated by other Japanese Buddhist schools.[7]

In spite of the standardization provided by the Chinese monastic regulations, we must not forget that Japanese funeral rites developed in response to native Japanese conceptions of the afterlife, of relations with ancestors, and of household duties. Before the popularization of Buddhist funerals, Japanese burials and last rites were conducted entirely by the members of the deceased's immediate household, who performed rituals based on a wide variety of local customs and family traditions. People without nearby family members would not receive any burial or rites. Their corpses simply would be abandoned in desolate areas.[8] As late as the fourteenth century it was still not uncommon to similarly discard the bodies of children who died

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[6]See *Ruijū zatsurei*, extracts from the diary of Minamoto Tsuneyori (975-1039), entries for 1036:5:1-19, in *Gunsho ruijū*, ed. Hanawa Hokinoichi (Tokyo: Keizai Zasshisha, 1894), 18:613-21.

[7]All Japanese schools except Nichiren and Jōdo Shinshū generally follow the sequence of ceremonies described in the Zen monastic codes (*shingi*). Even the terminology is the same (e.g., note the use of Zen term *gan* [Ch. *kan;* literally "niche"] for coffin). See Fuji Masao, ed., *Bukkyō girei jiten* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1977), 281-336.

[8]Doi Takuji, "Fūsō ni kansuru mondai" (1970), rpt. in *Sōhō*, ed. Doi Takuji and Satō Yoneshi, Sōsō Bosei Kenkyū Shūsei, 1:113-27; and Obayashi Tairyō, *Sōsei no kigen*, Kadokawa Shinsho (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1965), 35-36.

before coming of age.[9] Usually funeral and memorial rites were reserved for the significant household members who would become the nebulous ancestors for future generations of the household. Even after the nearly universal acceptance of Buddhist funeral rites, the rationales for their performance have remained based on traditional religious views rather than upon formal Buddhist doctrines. Burial, for example, remained more common than cremation until postwar urbanization restricted access to graveyards.[10]

Modern Japanese rural areas still exhibit wide variations in funeral rites, even among members of the same Buddhist sect or of the same hamlet.[11] Western sociologists who have studied these variations assert that average Japanese never fully assimilated Buddhist concepts of *karma* and rebirth.[12] The study of the significance of Buddhist funeral rites within the world view of modern Japanese, therefore, also benefits greatly from the approaches of folklorists, anthropologists, and sociologists. Fortunately, many studies based on these approaches are readily available in English.[13] The sections that follow

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[9]Tamamuro, *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 96-97. Also see Mujū Dōgyō, "Yakushi no riyaku no koto," in *Shasekishū*, chap. 2, 94.

[10]Hori Ichirō, "Wagakuni ni okeru kasō no minkan juyō ni tsuite" (1951), rpt. in *Sōhō*, Sōsō Bosei Kenkyū Shūsei, 1:88-93; Inokuchi Shōji, *Nihon no sōshiki* (1965; rpt. Chikuma Shobō, 1977), 109.

[11]Robert J. Smith, *Ancestor Worship in Contemporary Japan* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford U. Press, 1974), 70.

[12]See, for example, ibid., 54.

[13]See Ronald P. Dore, *City Life in Japan: A Study of a Tokyo Ward* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1967), 312-28, 427-35; Herman Ooms, "The Religion of the Household: A Case Study of Ancestor Worship in Japan," *Contemporary Religions in Japan*, 8:3-4 (Sept.-Dec. 1967), 201-333; David W. Plath, "Where the Family of God is the Family: The Role of the Dead in Japanese Households," *American Anthropologist*, 66 (1964): 300-17; and Smith, *Ancestor Worship*. Also note Blacker, *Catalpa Bow*, 152-61.

concentrate on a textual-historical approach in order to describe the evolution of funerals within medieval Sōtō practice and history. Although many descriptions of Chan and Zen practice emphasize the necessity of attaining total self reliance in this life, Chinese Chan funeral rites already included devotional practices designed to promise salvation in the next life. In Japan, the devotional aspects of these Chinese rites would receive even greater emphasis.

Funerals in Chinese Chan

The importance attached to funerals in East Asian Buddhism has its origins in Chinese traditions. Early Indian Buddhism had no special funeral rites. Scriptural accounts of the Buddha's demise report that his own funeral was conducted by laymen. The honoring of his relics was to be left in the hands of pious laymen.[14] As late as the fifth century, the Chinese pilgrim Faxian (Jpn. Hokken) described the funeral rites for an illustrious Buddhist monk in Shizi (modern Sri Lanka) as having been organized and led by the local secular ruler.[15] The seventh century travel records of another Chinese pilgrim, Yijing (Jpn. Gijō), report that Indian Buddhist monks performed no funeral rituals beyond reciting a short scripture on the impermanence of all things.[16] In

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[14]See, for example, The *Mahā parinibbāna sutta*, chap. 5, in *Buddhist Suttas Translated From the Pāli*, trans. T. W. Rhys Davids, Sacred Books of The East, 11, ed. F. Max Müller (Oxford: Oxford U. Press, 1881), secs. 24-31, pp. 91-95.

[15]*Gaoseng Faxianchuan* (Jpn. *Kōsō Hokkenden*), in *T*, 51:865b.

[16]*Nanhai jigui neifachuan* (Jpn. *Nankai kiki naihōden*), fasc. 2, in *T*, 54:216c. The scripture in question was translated by Yijing as the *Wuchangjing* (Jpn. *Mujōkyō*), in *T*, no. 801, 17:745-46.

contrast to this apparent apathy toward services for the dead in Indian Buddhism, funeral rites were an essential part of traditional Chinese religious practices. The Chinese considered sacrifices to one's dead ancestors to be a fundamental filial responsibility. Chinese officials attacked the detachment from worldly affairs taught in Indian Buddhism as being not only a threat to the state but also unfilial to one's parents. To survive, Chinese Buddhists had to develop new doctrines that would stress Buddhist protection of the state and Buddhist concepts of filial piety.[17]

The new practices developed by Chinese Buddhists included funeral rites for monks and memorial services for deceased laymen. An eleventh-century Chinese Buddhist encyclopedia, for example, contains twenty-six entries concerning Buddhist funeral rites, many of which are explained by means of quotations from the Confucian classics, such as the *Liji* (Book of Rites), the *Shujing* (Book of Documents) and *Shijing* (Book of Odes).[18] All the funeral ceremonies referred to by this encyclopedia, except cremation and the recitation of translated scriptures, parallel earlier non-Buddhist Chinese rites.[19] The *Chanyuan qinggui* (compiled about eighty years later) provides the earliest detailed description of the funeral rites conducted at Chinese Chan monasteries.

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[17]Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton U. Press, 1973), esp. 14-19, 50-55, 67-69.

[18]Daocheng (Jpn. Dōsei), *Shishi yaolan* (Jpn. *Shakushi yōran;* 1019; pub. 1024), fasc. 3, in *T.* 54:307-10.

[19]Ishikawa Rikizan, "Zen no sōsō," *Nihongaku*, 10 (Dec. 1987): 140-42. Also see Michihata Ryōshū, *Bukkyō to Jukyō*, Regurusu Bunko (Tokyo: Daisan Bunmeisha, 1976), 49-64.

This monastic code details two different series of funeral rituals, one for ordinary Chan monks and the other, a more elaborate sequence of ceremonies, for abbots or other illustrious masters.[20] The funeral ceremony for ordinary monks focuses on attaining posthumous salvation for the deceased through the power of Emituo (Jpn. Amida) Buddha. As soon as any ordinary monk becomes seriously ill, the other monks in the monastery would be instructed to chant the name of Emituo Buddha as a prayer for the sick monk's recovery. If the monk should die, the assembly of monks then would pray to Emituo for the deceased monk to complete his religious training through the attainment of Buddhahood in Pure Land. These rites for ordinary monks, therefore, retained a strong Buddhist orientation. The funeral ceremony for abbots, however, followed the traditional Chinese Confucian rites for deceased parents, with the abbot seen as the symbolic parent of his disciples. In this respect, the *Chanyuan qinggui* agrees with the above-cited encyclopedia.[21] Upon the abbot's death, his direct disciples would wear robes of mourning and retire from their normal duties, while the other monks in the monastery would be assigned the functions of praising the abbot's accomplishments and of consoling his disciples. Later Chan monastic codes regulated the proper types of mourning robes according to the wearers' own status and relationship to the deceased.[22]

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[20] *Chanyuan qinggui*, fasc. 7, "Wangseng" (Jpn. "Bōsō") and "Zunsu qianhua" (Jpn. "Sonshuku senge"); rev. edn. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 237-48, 259-63. Unless otherwise noted, the following description of Chan funerary rites is based on this monastic code.

[21] See Daocheng, *Shishi yaolan*, fasc. 3, in *T*, 54:307c.

[22] E.g., *Chanlin beiyong qinggui* (Jpn. *Zenrin biyō shingi*; 1311), fasc. 9, in *ZZK*, 2:17:63b.

According to the *Chanyuan qinggui*, the rites for abbots and for ordinary monks begin with similar rituals. First the government authorities must be notified of the death. All ordination certificates, honorary robes, and documents granting special titles belonging to the deceased must be returned to the proper government officials, and permission to conduct the funeral must be obtained. Also, the deceased's body must be washed and prepared. The head would be shaved and a clean set of robes would replace the soiled ones worn during the final illness. The body then would be placed inside a round coffin in an upright, seated position, as if engaged in meditation. The coffin of a monk would be left in the infirmary, but the abbot's coffin would be moved from the abbot's building to a position of honor in the lecture hall.[23] Both coffins would be decorated with flowers. Special decorative banners would be placed on either side of the coffin along with other banners proclaiming Buddhist doctrines, such as a verse on impermanence. The decorations for the abbot, of course, would be much more elaborate. His final words or death poem would be prominently displayed. His portrait would be placed on the lecture seat, while his belongings--sleeping mat, fly whisk, staff, meditation mat, razor, robes, and so forth--would be spread out on a special table. The lecture hall would be lined with white curtains, while additional lanterns, incense burners, white flowers, and special offerings would be set out.

The funeral for an ordinary monk comprises three main ceremonies, namely: the service before the coffin, the procession to

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[23]Compare *Chanlin beiyong qinggui* (1311), fasc. 9, in *ZZK*, 2:17:62a.

the cremation site, and the cremation.[24] All of these services would be led by the monastery's usual group leader (*weinuo*). As is also the case with all other Chan rituals, during each ceremony the standing positions and walking movements of each of the participating monks would be carefully choreographed and punctuated with bells and gongs. Every aspect of the ceremonies would be conducted with utmost attention to dignity and solemnity. The monks would remain perfectly quiet when not chanting scripture. For the ordinary monk, each ceremony also would conclude with a ritual transference of merit to the deceased monk with the request that the merit might help him attain salvation in Pure Land.

The first ceremony would begin after the deceased monk already has been placed in his coffin inside the monastery's infirmary. The assembled monks would begin by calling on Emituo Buddha and the bodhisattvas (*sishenhao;* Jpn. *shishōgō*) of his Pure Land and then rhythmically chant of the name Emituo. Later that same evening, the monks also would perform a precept recitation ceremony in the name of the deceased monk. The performance of this ceremony is particularly noteworthy because it demonstrates that Chinese Chan monks also linked the power of the Buddhist precepts to the future salvation of the deceased. The second ceremony, conducted on the following day, would begin with the offering of incense before the coffin. Then, after reciting the name Emituo ten times, the monastic workers would carry the coffin to the cremation site.[25] The Chan monks would follow directly

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[24]In this description, for the sake of clarity I have not distinguished the component parts of each of these ceremonies.

[25]Compare J. Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries: Their Plan and its Function as a Setting for Buddhist Monastic Life* (1937; rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong U. Press, 1967), 165 fig. 203.

behind the coffin, always walking down the center of the road. The monks would carry the banners, gongs, incense burners and tables to be used in the subsequent service. The final ceremony consists of the cremation itself. The monks would offer incense and recite scripture for the benefit of the deceased monk. The abbot would light the cremation pyre--an act always accompanied by a brief sermon. This would be followed by the chanting of the name Emituo and more scripture recitations. The funeral ceremonies would conclude with the procession of monks returning directly to the monastery. On the following day, the group leader would collect the deceased monk's ashes, which would be placed in a stone pagoda or thrown into a river.

The funeral of an abbot or other high-ranking monk comprised four full ceremonies. Although the first three ceremonies parallel those for the ordinary monk, each would be conducted on a grander scale. A leader for each ceremony would be selected in advance from among the most senior monks in residence or from neighboring monasteries. At each ceremony, the leader of the service would deliver at least one formal sermon to the assembly of monks. Other leading monks also would deliver special eulogies. For the ordinary monks, therefore, this series of ceremonies would represent an opportunity to hear several different Chan teachers express their own approach to life and death in terms of Buddhist practice.

The first ceremony would focus on the transferring of the abbot's coffin to the lecture hall. The ceremony would begin in front of the coffin in the abbot's building and would include not just the moving of the coffin but also the presenting of the late abbot's portrait. In addition to the leader's sermon, the monastic officers and

other senior monks each would present incense in front of the late abbot's portrait and attempt to console his disciples, who would stand together next to the coffin. Any special eulogies from public officials or from senior monks also would be presented at this time. The second ceremony would begin the following morning with a special vegetarian feast for all the monks. Another sermon also would be delivered in the lecture hall before the coffin, which then would be carried to the cremation (or burial) site. The direct disciples would follow first, followed (in order) by the leader of this ceremony, senior monks, ordinary monks, and nuns. Government officials and patrons would walk on either side of the monks' procession. The third ceremony would occur at the disposal of the body. The leader responsible for lighting the pyre or for interring the coffin (in the case of a burial) would deliver a sermon as he completed his actions. At this time, the senior monks would offer incense while the attending monks would chant the name of Emituo Buddha. A second leader also would deliver a second sermon while scattering earth over the coffin. Then, the monks would return directly to the monastery. The final ceremony would begin upon the monks' arrival. In this ceremony, the abbot's portrait would be moved from the lecture hall to the abbot's building, at which there would be another brief sermon. In addition, each monk would make a show of final respect before the portrait and offer condolences to his direct disciples. This would conclude the formal funeral service. Thereafter, only the direct disciples would be required to continue daily offerings and rituals of mourning for their late teacher.

The above rituals described in the *Chanyuan qinggui* formed the basis for Japanese Sōtō funerals. The elaborations of these rituals

that appear in later Chinese Chan monastic regulations also influenced Japanese rites. Esoteric formulas (*dhāraṇī*), such as the *Dabei shenzhou* (Jpn. *Daihi jinshu*) and the *Lengyanzhou* (Jpn. *Ryōgonshu*) assume greater prominence in these later codes.[26] Emituo Buddha still appears in later codes, but the inclusion of these esoteric formulas shifts the emphasis of the rituals away from Pure Land faith toward the esoteric transference of merit. The salvation of the deceased depends less on Emituo's power and more on the merit generated by the body of monks performing the funeral ceremonies. With this greater emphasis on generating merit, the number and scale of all the rituals steadily increased. Actions hardly mentioned in the *Chanyuan qinggui* are described as complex ceremonies in the later codes. For example, the procession out of the monastery evolved into two rituals: one for the carrying of the coffin to the main gate, and another for the carrying of the coffin from the main gate to the cremation site.[27] By 1311, Chan codes listed eighteen possible funeral rituals.[28] At each of these ceremonies, the variety and number of the decorations and ritual implements became more elaborate. Special foods or tea and hot water might be presented. Special stands and shrines for flowers and the deceased's portrait might be carried to the cremation site. The

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[26]See *Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyao* (Jpn. *Sōrin kōtei shingi sōyō;* 1274), fasc. 2, in *ZZK*, 2:17:23; *Chanlin beiyong qinggui*, fasc. 9, in *ZZK*, 2:17:61c-d; and *Chixiu Baijiang qinggui*, fasc. 3, in *T*, 48:1127c.

[27]*Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyao*, fasc. 2, in *ZZK*, 2:17:23a; *Chanlin beiyong qinggui*, fasc. 9, in *ZZK*, 2:17:66b; and *Chixiu Baijiang qinggui*, fasc. 3, in *T*, 48:1128c.

[28]*Chanlin beiyong qinggui*, fasc. 9, in *ZZK*, 2:17:64a. This list also appears in the *Tōkoku shingi*, fasc. 1, in *JDZ*, 284.

wealthier the deceased, the more elaborate the ceremonies would be.[29]

Chan funerals incurred many expenses. Since these funerary expenses lay outside the normal operating budget, Chan monasteries charged fees for all funeral-related goods and services, including labor charges for chanting and music. In addition to the special banners and decorations that could be reused, the non-reusable items (such as special food, tea, flowers, incense, coffin, crematorium materials, and final urn) also had to be provided.[30] Moreover, the abbot's funeral not only required a special feast for all the monks but also a special gratuity (*ruyao;* Jpn. *nyūyaku*) to be provided to each of the senior monks for each ceremony in which they participated. The ordinary monks participating in the cremation service likewise would receive a special payment in cash (*nianfoqian;* Jpn. *nenbutsusen*) for their services.[31] The monastery would recoup these expenses by assuming control of all of the property belonging to the deceased monk.[32] This property (except for real estate and a few special personal effects) would be auctioned to the monastic community so that the proceeds could pay for the funeral expenditures.[33]

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[29] *Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyao*, fasc. 2, in *ZZK*, 2:17:21c, 2d line from end; *Chanlin beiyong qinggui*, fasc. 9, in *ZZK*, 2:17:61c, line 3; and *Chixiu Baijiang qinggui*, fasc. 3, in *T*, 48:1127b, line 4.

[30] Compare J. Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries*, 168.

[31] *Chanyuan qinggui*, fasc. 7, "Zunsu qianhua," rev. edn. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 261-63.

[32] Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton U. Press, 1964), 252.

[33] *Chanyuan qinggui*, fasc. 7, "Wangseng," rev. dn. *Yakuchū Zennen shingi*, 240-41, 246-47.

These auctions potentially could raise large sums of money. For this reason, the value of a deceased monk's possessions had to be carefully appraised and the proceeds of the auction had to be fully accounted for. The scale of the funds involved and the types of expenses incurred can be inferred from a sample accounting listed in one monastic code (dated ca.1338). In this sample, the one thousand strings of cash earned from a typical auction was paid out in the following eight main categories: 91 strings for direct material expenses (such as fuel for heating the water used to wash the corpse), 270 strings for the abbot's share (i.e., one-third of the amount set aside for the monastery), 135 strings for the performance of the various individual ceremonies, 15 strings for gratuities given to three ceremonial leaders, 9 strings for gratuities given to four assistant celebrants, 15 strings for material expenses incurred by monastic officers, 20 strings for gratuities given to the monastic officers, and 444.5 strings for distribution among the monastery's resident population of four-hundred monks (i.e., one string per monk) and for offerings at the monastery's shrines. The remaining half-string of cash was used for accounting expenses.[34]

The reference (mentioned above) to patrons and government officials walking beside the procession of monks during the abbot's funeral suggests another source of income. It is possible that patrons would have made special donations to the monastery on the occasion of the abbot's death. Lay funerals for patrons are not mentioned in the *Chanyuan qinggui*, but by the twelfth century Chan *goroku* commonly

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[34] *Chixiu Baijiang qinggui*, fasc. 7, in *T*, 48:1149b-c.

include sermons that were delivered at funeral services for laymen. Even Rujing sermonized for lay funerals.[35] Patrons and their surviving families must have offered major donations to pay for the extensive fees that Chan monasteries charged for these funeral services. Chinese monastic codes, however, do not describe lay funerals. The rituals for clergy and laymen must have been similar since regulations by Zhongfeng Mingben includes a stereotyped eulogy identified as being suitable for both monks and laymen.[36] Yet the fact that Zhongfeng specifically noted the secular applicability of this eulogy reveals that a clear distinction always existed between funeral rites for clergy and for laymen. Funeral sermons for laymen in Chinese Chan *goroku* always refer to the deceased by a secular name, not a posthumous Buddhist title.

Zen Funerals in Japan

Dōgen had been the first Japanese Zen monk to attempt to introduce the daily implementation of the Chinese monastic codes to Japan. Yet Dōgen's *goroku* contains no funeral sermons. At least three of Dōgen's leading disciples (i.e., Sōkai, Ekan, and the nun Ryōnen) preceded him in death. Dōgen presented memorial lectures for Sōkai and Ekan.[37] Yet no evidence of Dōgen's having performed any funeral services exists. Even the details regarding Dōgen's own funeral are not

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[35]See his "Xiao foshi" (Jpn. "Shō butsuji"), in *Rujinglu*, fasc. 2, rpt. "Yakuchū 'Nyojō goroku,'" in Kagamishima Genryū, *Tendō Nyojō Zenji no kenkyū*, 367-68. Dōgen cites the concluding line of this sermon in *SBGZ*, "Baike" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:463.

[36]*Huanzhuan qinggui* (Jpn. *Genjūan shingi;* 1317), in *ZZK*, 2:16:492d, line 7; and Matsui Shōten, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru Sōtō Zenryō no katsudō: Sōsō wo chūshin to shite," *IBK*, 16:2 (March 1968), 235.

[37]*Kōroku*, secs. 1 and 7, lecs. 111 and 507, in *DZZ*, 2:27, 134.

clear. Dōgen died not at Eiheiji, but in Kyoto. His coffin reportedly was placed at Kenninji before being taken to the cremation site, but the only ritual conducted was Ejō's reciting of the *Shari raimon*, a short devotional verse on the attainment of all perfections through the power of the Buddha. Significantly, this devotional verse appears to have been widely used only in Japanese Buddhist rituals, not in Chinese Chan.[38] Therefore, Dōgen's teachings apparently had not included Zen funeral ceremonies.

Gikai's last rites (1309) comprise the earliest Japanese Sōtō Zen funeral fully documented in extant records.[39] Even if not the first, Gikai's funeral would still attract our attention because of its lavish scale. Over a seven-day period, seventeen separate rituals were conducted in accordance with the Chinese monastic codes. Individual monastic leaders performed a wide variety of rituals, such as preparing the corpse and coffin, moving the coffin into the lecture hall, presenting Gikai's portrait, presenting offerings, sealing the coffin, moving to the monastery gate, moving to the cremation site, lighting the cremation pyre, presenting additional offerings at the cremation site, and placing Gikai's portrait in a special shrine. The overall ceremonies were directed by Eki, a former Darumashū monk. Meihō Sotetsu led the first ritual and Keizan performed the cremation. For seven days senior monks presented special eulogies (*saimon*) in the name of Gikai's disciples, Daijōji's workers and patrons. For the cremation, a portable

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[38]See *Kyūki*, in *Eiheijishi*, 150; and Ishikawa Ryōiku, "Shari raimon ni tsuite," 272-76.

[39]*Gikai sōki*, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 1-7. All the information in this paragraph is based on this source.

shrine was erected to house Gikai's portrait. Surrounding the funeral pyre, there were placed sixty-four ritual items in thirty-two categories, including paper streamers, white banners, embroidered flags, tables for tea and offerings, flower stands, lanterns, incense stands and paper money. One week after the cremation, Gikai's robes and belongings were auctioned, raising eight *kan*, 333 *mon* to recover the funeral expenses.

Subsequent funerals for abbots of major Sōtō monasteries continued the same elaborate display initiated by Gikai. At Meihō's funeral (1350), seventy-two items in thirty-four categories were arrayed around the cremation pyre.[40] At Tsūgen Jakurei's funeral (1391), seventy-one items in fifty-one categories decorated the cremation site.[41] The increased numbers of items used indirectly indicates the greater wealth enjoyed by these later Sōtō abbots. The auction of Tsūgen's belongings produced 38 *kan*, 331 *mon*.[42] Even allowing for inflation, Tsūgen's disciples clearly could afford a more lavish funeral than had Gikai's disciples. These later funeral ceremonies also increased in religious complexity. Meihō's funeral included not just recitation of the esoteric formulas mentioned in Chinese monastic regulations (such as the *Daihi jinshu* and the *Ryōgonshu*) but also involved the recitation of the *Kōmyō shingon* (a *dhāraṇī* particularly

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[40]*Meihō Sotetsu Zenji sōki*, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 10-17.

[41]*Tsūgen Jakurei Zenji sōki*, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 25-35.

[42]Of these proceeds, 10 *kan*, 300 *mon* was used to pay for the material expenses of the funeral, 18 *kan*, 31 *mon* was used to pay the monastery for its services, and 10 *kan* was sent to Eiheiji for a vegetarian feast in honor of Tsūgen. See *Tsūgen Jakurei Zenji sōki*, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 30.

popular in Japan) by a group of one-hundred monks, chanting non-stop in three shifts. Moreover, ordinations were performed in which Meihō served as the posthumous precept administrator. Meihō received the merit for having administered the precepts, while those being ordained received not only the merit of the precepts but also established direct links to the late honored Zen master. A later (ca.1509) Sōtō monastic code suggests that precept recitation ceremonies came to form a regular part of Sōtō funeral services.[43]

Elaborate Zen funerals were performed not just for abbots but also for laymen. The series of complex ceremonies with portraits of the deceased and devotional liturgies performed by the Zen monks honored the deceased far more than the Buddhist rites previously available in Japan. The first Japanese laymen to receive Zen funerals were the early patrons of Zen temples who had witnessed the ceremonies provided to deceased monks. In Dōgen's Sōtō school, however, no early records of funerals for patrons exist. The earliest detailed accounts of these funerals are found in the Japanese Rinzai tradition. The regent Hōjō Tokimune's funeral in 1284 at the hands of Wuxue Zuxuan is particularly well-known.[44] Tokimune had sponsored Zuyuan's emigration to Japan in 1278 and had built Engakuji for him in 1282. When Tokimune approached death, Wuxue Zuyuan ordained him with a Buddhist robe and the precepts. The

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[43]*Shōbō shingi*, fasc. 2, in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 88-89. This code purports to be a faithful copy of the *Tōkoku shingi* (usually attributed to Keizan). Unlike the Tōkoku code, however, the text of the precept recitation ceremony occurs among the funeral rites. Contrast this with *Tōkoku shingi*, in *JDZ*, 288-95.

[44]Regarding Hōjō Tokimune and Wuxue Zuyuan, see Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 70-73.

newly ordained Tokimune then received a full Chinese-style Zen funeral, at which Zuyuan delivered two sermons.[45]

The funeral of Yoshihito (1361-1416) also provides an excellent example of a Rinzai Zen funeral for an affluent and important patron.[46] Yoshihito had been an heir to the throne--the son of Emperor Sukō and the grandfather of the future Emperor Gohanazono. On the evening following Yoshihito's death (on the twentieth day of the eleventh month), his head was shaved, and his body was washed and dressed in Buddhist robes. A group of monks were assigned to recite the *Kōmyō shingon*. On the following day, senior monks and former abbots from major Kyoto Rinzai monasteries that had ties to the imperial family (i.e., Tenryūji, Kenninji and Nanzenji) visited Yoshihito's Fushiminomiya residence to plan his funeral. The dates and leaders for each of the ceremonies were selected. The monks were informed of Yoshihito's Buddhist name so that the proper banners and a mortuary tablet (*ihai*) could be prepared. Since Yoshihito evidently already had a Buddhist name, he must have received a precept ordination sometime prior to his death. Throughout the next two days, different groups of monks arrived to recite scriptures and formulas such as the *Kōmyō shingon*.

On the third day, the main Zen ceremonies began. First his body and coffin were ceremoniously prepared. The coffin of a Zen abbot

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[45]*Bukkō kokushi goroku*, fasc. 4, in *T*, 80:174c-175a. The "Hōkōji Dono" in these passages refers to Hōjō Tokimune.

[46]These details were recorded by Yoshihito's son, Sadafusa. See *Kanmon gyoki*, entries for 1416:11:20-26, 1417:2:30, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū hoi* (Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1930), 3:49-53, 70; and Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron," pt. 9, *KBK*, 45 (1987): 169.

would be placed in the monastery's lecture hall, but for Yoshihito a nearby Jizō chapel served as the place of honor. The cremation was conducted the following day. The site was situated just outside of the east gate of the Jizō chapel. Cut pine and ceder trees were arranged around the spot where the table for offerings and the pyre were set up. Temporary *torii* (Japanese-style sacred gateways) made of unhewn hackberry (*enoki*) wood also were placed in line with the four cardinal directions.[47] After presenting incense and reciting scripture at the Jizō chapel, the coffin was carried to the cremation cite. The procession was led by two monks carrying incense stands, followed (in order) by the four main banners, the gong and drum, the mortuary tablet, and finally by the coffin. The leaders and senior monks followed the coffin, accompanied by one hundred monks who chanted a mystical formula dedicated to Amida Buddha (*Amidaju*). Japanese Rinzai monks chanted this *dhāraṇī* instead of the name Amida (Ch. Emituo) as found in the Chinese codes.[48] Koten Shūin, the former abbot of Tenryūji, lit the pyre. As the fire burned, senior Zen teachers led the monks in a series of scripture-recitation ceremonies. When these ended, the direct involvement Yoshihito's family also came to an end. The interment of his bones as well as the performance of the series of seven memorial rites all were handled by the monks from the family's local temple. No special services were conducted at the Fushiminomiya residence.

The funerals of Hōjō Tokimune and of Yoshihito demonstrate that Japanese Zen monks made no distinction between a monastic funeral for an

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[47]For a detailed diagram of the layout used for this type of elaborate funeral, see *Sho ekō shingishiki*, fasc. 4, in *T*, 81:661a-b.

[48]See ibid., fasc. 4, in *T*, 81:661c.

abbot and the funeral services for a layman. Both received the same series of ceremonies. The same banners, offerings and decorations were employed for both. The same stereotyped categories of Zen sermons were delivered for both. Significantly, both Tokimune and Yoshihito had received some type of ordination before their deaths. The nature of these ordinations and the types of precepts upon which they were based cannot be known. By Yoshihito's time, at least, Japanese Rinzai lineages fully accepted of the Japanese Tendai interpretation of the bodhisattva precepts. The Rinzai monk Kokan Shiren, for example, asserted in his very influential *Zenmon ju bosatsukaiki* (Rules For Bodhisattva Ordinations in the Zen School) that Eisai had transmitted only the bodhisattva precepts.[49] These precepts would have allowed no distinction to be drawn between monk and layman. The status of both would be the same. Therefore, the popularization of lay ordinations and the popularization of Zen funerals entailed each other. For this reason, while Rinzai monks were popularizing Zen funerals among the warrior elite and the nobility, Sōtō monks were introducing Zen funerals into rural Japan.

Posthumous Ordinations

Rather than the elaborate style of funeral suitable for an abbot, the vast majority of lay funerals in medieval Sōtō followed the simpler scale of rites that originally had been intended for ordinary

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[49]Rpt. in *Zengaku taikei*, 7, *Kaihōbu*, ed. Zengaku Taikei Hensankyoku (Tokyo: Ikkatsusha, 1913), text pp. 2, 4. Also see Kagamishima Genryū, "Endonkai to Zenkai," 151-55. An abbreviated version of the *Zenmon ju bosatsukaiki* (retitled *"Zenkaiki"*) is included in the *Sho ekō shingishiki* (*T*, 81:678a-79a), but it lacks many of Kokan's most influential statements.

monks. These ceremonies required the involvement of fewer monks, thereby greatly reducing their expense. Medieval Sōtō monks popularized Zen funerals by learning how to adjust the refinement and complexity of the ceremonies in accordance with the financial resources of their lay sponsors. Moreover, the promise of salvation implicit in the Zen funeral rites became more strongly stressed in these simpler rites than in the complex style of funeral performed for abbots, because most lay funeral ceremonies would begin inside the residence of the deceased. The surviving household members who sponsored the funeral services, therefore, could observe many of the special rituals performed to insure the salvation of the deceased. The most important of these special rites would be the posthumous ordination. The Chinese monastic codes included funeral rites only for ordained monks. Therefore, if the deceased had not previously received an ordination, the precepts would have to be administered posthumously.

In this case, the Sōtō monks would consecrate the area next to the deceased as a small chapel (*dōjō*) and set up a chair and a table with flowers, incense burners, lanterns and a vessel for sanctified water to be used for ritual anointment and ablution of the corpse. All the rituals would be performed just as if the precepts were being administered to a living person, except for the verses chanted. For a posthumous ordination, the precept administrator and his assistant would chant a special verse that proclaims the nonexistence of an individual self. For each precept, the administrator would ask the deceased three times if he or she intends to observe the Buddhist teaching. At the end of the ceremony, the deceased would be presented with a Buddhist bowl, a

Buddhist robe, and a *kechimyaku* (i.e., lineage chart).[50] On this chart, a new Buddhist name would be used instead of the deceased's secular name. From this point, the funeral rites for the deceased would be performed as if he or she had been an actual monk or nun. The corpse's head would be shaved, and the body would be washed and dressed in the deceased's new Buddhist robe.[51] When placing the corpse in the coffin, the monks also would place the *kechimyaku* alongside the body. As in the case with mass ordination ceremonies conducted for the living, the precept-lineage chart would symbolize a direct, tangible link to the Buddha.

Posthumous ordinations in order to allow Buddhist funeral rites for laymen is a Japanese innovation. Chinese Buddhist scripture contains no provisions for this practice. Even the *Bonmōkyō*, which states that the Buddhist precepts should be administered to everyone and to every type of being, from heavenly spirits to lowly beasts, limits ordinations to those who can understand the questions of the precept administrator.[52] The deceased layman, however, could not reply to the administrator's questions during this posthumous ordination. Medieval Sōtō monks, therefore, redefined this silence as an affirmative response, just as in precept recitation ceremonies. Often this silence was interpreted as a the proper Zen expression of the ineffable. For

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[50]*Motsugo jukai no sahō*, transmitted 1567; and [*Sasō gishiki:*] *Motsugo jukai sahō*, Yōkōji initiation D, transmitted 1616 by Kyūgai Donryō; rpt. Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami nc bunrui," pt. 2, 128-29.

[51]Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui," pt. 9, 173-77.

[52]*Fanwangjing*, fasc. 2, in *T*, 24:1004b.

example, one initiation document (*kirikami*) includes the following questions and answers:

How can one posthumously become a monk?
Answer: Neither saying 'No' nor 'Yes.'
A phrase?
  No self appearance;
  No human appearance.
Explain [its meaning].
Answer: When [something has] absolutely no appearance, it can become anything.
Teacher: But why does it become a monk?
Answer: Not saying 'No' and 'Yes' is truly leaving one's home (*shukke*).
A phrase?
Answer: The sagely and the ordinary know for themselves [who they are].[53]

The expression "to leave one's home" is the traditional Buddhist term for becoming a monk. In a similar vein, another *kirikami* that was presented to the deceased during posthumous ordinations states that not making an outward show of cultivating the precepts while inwardly not clinging to false views truly is to leave one's home.[54] These texts assert that the dead become monks naturally, simply by having departed from the bounds of worldly distinctions.

In the same way that Sōtō monks could rationalize posthumous ordinations for humans, they also could administer the Buddhist precepts to animals. Again, during the ordination ceremony the animal also would be asked three times if it would observe each precept and would receive a Buddhist name. The animal would be told that its own evil actions in the past had caused it to suffer animal status in this birth. Finally,

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[53]*Motsugo sasō no san*, in *Bukke ichi daiji yawa*, rpt. in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui," pt. 2, 148.

[54]*Busso shōden hōsan no daiji*, copied 1631 by Kyūgai Donryō, rpt. in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui," pt. 9, 175-76.

the animal's past karma would be eliminated through the power of the precepts and by invoking the compassion of the bodhisattva Kannon.[55] This type of ceremony would have allowed wealthy laymen to request the performance of a simplified Buddhist funerals for their favorite household pets. The historical record, however, does not confirm the degree to which these might actually have been performed.

Funerals in Sōtō Recorded Sayings

Sōtō *goroku* (i.e., texts of recorded sayings) provide one record of the rapid popularization of funerals achieved by Sōtō monks in rural Japan. Medieval Sōtō *goroku* consist largely of funeral sermons. Tamamuro Taijō first noted preponderance of these funeral sermons in his 1963 study of the development of funeral services in Japanese Buddhism.[56] Tamamuro compiled a table in which the *goroku* of six Sōtō leaders beginning with Dōgen are analyzed in terms of the relative number of pages devoted either to meditation-related topics or to funeral-related topics (see fig. 10).

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[55] *Chikushō jukai kirikami*, rpt. in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui," pt. 9, 176.

[56] *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 129.

FIGURE 10

TAMAMURO'S COMPARISON OF MEDITATION AND FUNERALS

Title of *Goroku*	Author	Total No. of Pages	Meditation-Related Pages	Funeral-Related Pages
1. *Eihei kōroku*	Dōgen (d.1253)	116	115	1
2. *Tsūgen Zenji goroku*	Tsūgen Jakurei (d.1391)	33	17	15
3. *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*	Kishi Iban (d.1468)	61	0	36
4. *Sensō Zenji goroku*	Sensō Esai (d.1475)	81	1	62
5. *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*	Shōdō Kōsei (d.1508)	138	4	49
6. *Kikuin oshō agyō*	Kikuin Zuitan (d.1524)	50	0	29

Based on Tamamuro, *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 129.

Excluding Dōgen, funeral sermons occupy a substantial percentage of the collected sayings of all the Sōtō teachers: forty-five percent for Tsūgen, fifty-nine percent for Kishi, seventy-six percent for Sensō, thirty-five percent for Shōdō, and fifty-eight percent for Kikuin. These percentages indicate not only the extensive role of funeral services in the of activities these teachers but also the importance attached to the funeral sermons by the disciples of these teacher--the monks who had compiled the *goroku*. The disciples would use their teachers' funeral sermons as models or references to be consulted when composing their own sermons. Large numbers of these funeral sermons had to be recorded and collected because the disciples also

would need to deliver many similar sermons. As a further aid for the disciples, some *goroku* even included generic sermons (labeled *tsū*; "common") that could be used for anyone merely by inserting the appropriate Buddhist names or titles.[57] Therefore, the total number of funerals performed must exceed the number of recorded sermons included in these texts.

Tamamuro intended his table to demonstrate that funeral rites had rapidly eclipsed meditation as the primary concern of medieval Sōtō Zen masters. Tamamuro's table shows relatively few pages in these *goroku* concerning Zen practice. Although many secondary sources reproduce Tamamuro's data, one must be warned against taking this second assertion at face value. The lack of pages devoted to meditation in Tamamuro's table is attributable not only to the growing importance of funeral services, but also to two other factors: (1) Tamamuro's method of counting pages, and (2) changes in the methods of compiling these so-called "recorded sayings." Tamamuro's division of *goroku* into meditation-related and funeral-related pages is based on a mechanical selection process, performed without regard to the actual content of the pages in question. For Tamamuro, even lectures that do not concern Zen in the least are counted as being meditation-related if they were addressed only to the community of monks. Lectures delivered during any type of ceremony (such as a consecration service, a cremation, or a memorial service) always are counted as being funeral-related even if topics concerning Zen practice are addressed.[58]

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[57]E.g., *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:576-78; and *Sho ekō shingishiki*, fasc. 5, in *T*, 81:682b.

[58]Tamamuro, *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 128-29.

For example, the *goroku* of Kishi Iban is listed by Tamamuro as being completely without references to Zen meditation even though terms describing meditative topics, such as *"genjō kōan,"* are found throughout Iban's funeral sermons.[59] Other than funeral sermons, Kishi Iban's *goroku* contains no other lectures because the remainder of the work consists of Iban's collected Chinese verse. The term *geshū* in the title means "poetry collection." Three of the five *goroku* analyzed by Tamamuro, namely those of Iban, Sensō and Shōdō, are by noted composers of Chinese verse. These texts, which contain more poetry than lectures, are hardly representative of medieval Sōtō Zen teachings. Poetry falls outside of Tamamuro's two categories of "meditation-related" and "funeral-related," leaving many pages unaccounted for by Tamamuro's table. Yet Zen poetry also contains many references to Zen meditation, such as: "Solitary sitting, the mind [like] ashes halfway between existence and nothingness."[60]

The fact that medieval *goroku* contain large sections of Chinese verse reveals the limitations of this genre for studying Zen practice. As previously mentioned, Japanese *goroku* consist solely of Chinese-language materials.[61] Although literally titled "recorded sayings," in actuality these texts represent "collected Chinese compositions." Dōgen's *goroku* reveals his teachings because he composed Chinese fluently. Dōgen's disciples also possessed the ability to transpose his

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[59]*Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:227a, 227b, 228b, 231a, 232a, 236a, 247a, 256b, 261b.

[60]*Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 1, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:411b.

[61]See chap. 6 (sec. on transcription commentaries).

remarks into literary Chinese.[62] Later Sōtō teachers and their disciples lacked this linguistic freedom. The practice of transposing daily lectures into Chinese disappeared until the Tokugawa-period revival of Chinese study. Medieval Sōtō monks wrote Chinese only for poetry or for short, ritualized pronouncements that were recited on special occasions such as the inauguration of a new abbot, and memorial or funeral sermons. Medieval-period *goroku* tend to be weighted toward these types of events because Sōtō masters still composed Chinese for these occasions. A careful reading of Sensō Esai's *goroku* reveals no mention of the term *kōan* and very few quotations from traditional *kōan* texts.[63] Yet Japanese-language records of Sensō's lectures reveal that he lectured on *kōan* texts daily. Likewise, Shōdō Kōsei's *goroku* includes poems that he composed to commemorate the completion of two separate series of lectures on the *Hekiganroku*, but the lectures themselves are not included.[64] Therefore, these texts provide only limited usefulness for compiling statistical comparisons of the relative frequency of funeral topics.

More important than the sheer numbers of funeral services is the fact that so many of them were performed for people confined to lower levels of social status. Funeral sermons usually avoid mentioning social ranks, but they can be inferred from the special Buddhist names

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[62]See Ishii, "'Giun oshō goroku' no in'yō tenseki," 87-88.

[63]In *Sensō Zenji goroku* (in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1) not a single Zen story or *kōan* is cited in full or by name, although a few references to Chinese Chan teachers, such as Zhaozhou Congshen (Jpn. Jōshū Jūshin: on pp. 288a, 317b, 334b), and a few stock Zen phrases, such as "barbarian beards are red" (on pp. 334b, 347a) do occur.

[64]*Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fascs. 1, 2, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:409a, 424a-b.

and titles used for the deceased. Before a Zen funeral service, the deceased would receive a special Buddhist name or title as part of his ordination. These Buddhist names and titles were selected to correspond to the strict hierarchy of Japanese society. Japanese scholars have analyzed the use of Buddhist titles in Sōtō funeral sermons to determine the relative social standing of each. These titles often appear in conjunction with stereotyped words of praise for the deceased that reveal his or her occupation.[65] The main basis for their analyses, however, is found in the *Sho ekō shingishiki*, a sixteenth-century guide to Zen rituals used at rural Rinzai temples. This text explains in detail the proper titles to be used on mortuary tablets (*ihai*). More than thirty different titles are listed for every type of person, from an emperor, to a Yamabushi monk, to a blind man.[66] Analysis of similar titles used in medieval Sōtō *goroku* confirm that only a small percentage of these funeral sermons had been delivered for members of the clergy.

In the case of Jochū Tengin, for example, only approximately seventeen percent of his funeral sermons concern monks or nuns. For Sensō and Shōdō, the clergy accounted for fewer than twelve and nineteen percent, respectively. Moreover, an analysis of the sermons presented at lay funerals reveals that later Sōtō masters performed more funerals for people of lower social status. The laymen in Jochū's *goroku*, for example, appear fairly evenly divided between those of high social position and those of little or no status. In Shōdō's *goroku*, however, the vast majority of the laymen are from the bottom rungs of the social

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[65]See Matsui, "Chūsei kōki ni okeru Sōtō Zenryō no katsudō," 236; and Hirose, "Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō," 148-50.

[66]*Sho ekō shingishiki*, fasc. 4, in *T*, 81:668a-b.

ladder.[67] The increased numbers of funerals for people of lower social status indicates an increased dependence upon financial support from these groups. Therefore, the pattern of financial patronage in medieval Sōtō probably shifted from locally powerful warrior families who initially founded major temples toward the common people who lived near these temples. Clearly, funeral services performed during the fifteenth century mainly served the common people.

The sermons in Sōtō *goroku* were presented not only at funerals but also at later memorial services. Let us examine memorial sermons first. Most memorial services (unlike most funerals) addressed patrons of high social status who could afford special rites on the anniversary of the death of a senior family member. Sōtō memorial services had assumed a standardized format by the late fifteenth century.[68] On the anniversary of the patriarch's death, his family would provide a special vegetarian feast for the monks of the Sōtō monastery. The monks would copy scripture and recite the *Ryōgonshu* for the merit of the deceased. Special offerings would be presented to the Buddhas and bodhisattvas. The memorial sermon would acknowledge each of these acts as having been performed at the request of the "filial" descendants (*kōshi*) of the deceased. These sermons also invariably would praise the exemplary behavior of the deceased, such as his support of Buddhism and his observance of Confucian virtues. For example, Kikuin Zuitan's seventh-

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[67]These figures summarize the more detailed statistical analyses presented in Hirose, "Sōtō Zensō no chihō katsudō," 148-50.

[68]Texts that conform to the format described herein include: *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū; Sensō Zenji goroku; Kasugazan Rinsen kaisan Don'ei Zenji goroku; Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku;* and *Kikuin oshō agyo.* See *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:227-34, 287-89, 368-73, 488-94, 558-61.

year memorial service for Takeda Nobumasa included the following words of praise:

> Proficient in civil and military arts, embodying loyalty and filial piety, [Nobumasa] cultivated karmic relationships of limitless superiority. . . . He always placed virtue first. At the court, he committed no crimes of cruel killing, but made non-action (*mui*) his norm. In the field, he instigated no military disturbances, but [comprehended] the mysterious principle of all things.[69]

Kikuin's remarks are typical of medieval Sōtō memorial sermons not only for the secular virtues singled out for praise but also, no doubt, for the idealized portrait he painted of the deceased. The real Takeda Nobumasa was no stranger to cruel killings and military disturbances. At a young age he already had attained notoriety for his execution of a former family retainer named Atobe Kageie and his son, Kagetsugi, whose head he had placed on a tall stake for public viewing. Kikuin's version of Nobumasa, however, was addressed to Nobumasa's grandson, Nobutora (1494-1574), the sponsor of the memorial service. In this context, the first function of the sermon was to honor Nobumasa before his descendants and to impress upon Nobutora's retainers (also present at the service) the virtues of the Takeda family which they served. Yet a secondary function of the sermon was to impress upon this audience the importance of the virtues Kikuin attributed to Nobumasa. Kikuin's sermon indirectly exhorted the living Takedas to act with virtue and restraint, while avoiding violence, and exhorted their retainers to embody loyalty and filial duty. Regardless of the actual

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[69]*Kikuin oshō agyo*, entry for 1511:9:16, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:559a.

character of the deceased. Kikuin's moralizing ultimately had been intended for the living.[70]

These memorial sermons, therefore, can reveal the moral ideals promoted by medieval Sōtō teachers and the moral support that they attempted to provide for their patrons. The Confucian virtues stressed by Sōtō teachers reinforced the social obligations between superior and inferior, thereby strengthening the hierarchical structure of warrior society. Not surprisingly, sermons addressed to warrior patrons often exalt military virtues. Although Kikuin spoke out against "cruel" killings and the "instigating" of military disturbances, other Sōtō teachers ignored such fine distinctions. Don'ei Eō (1424-1504), for example, eulogized the military prowess of his patron's ancestors without reservation. He praised Nagao Yoshikage (1459-1506) for being a companion to both poets and swordsmen, praised Beppu Kageyuki for being a battlefield hero, and suggested that the remembrance of battlefield glory could offer repose for one fallen warrior:

> . . . As the two troops cross spears, the course of the battle is undecided. Arrows fly like rain. The flashing of swords and axes radiates across the heavens. Without falling into [the dualism of] Death or Life, at that very moment at what kind of place should one seek haven?
>
> *Offering the incense, he continued:*
>
> The patron's perfumed smoke fills the pines with thick mist; frost and snow cannot encroach upon the integrity of ten-thousand years.[71]

In other words, although the burning incense proclaims the ephemerality of all things, the passing years cannot diminish our memory of the slain ancestor's accomplishments. However, not all Sōtō teachers equally

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[70]Hirose, "Zensō to sengoku shakai," 395-96.

[71]*Kasugazan Rinsen kaisan Don'ei Zenji goroku*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:369a, 371a-b. Also see ibid., 372a, 373a-b, 374a.

endorsed the warrior arts. Shōdō Kōsei, for example, emphasized the filial obligations of the survivors to their slain relatives. According to Shōdō, the survivors inherited the duty of cultivating merit and supporting Buddhism so as to transform the "mountains of swords" that had been experienced by their ancestors into "platforms for Zen meditation."[72]

Medieval Sōtō funeral sermons outnumber the memorial sermons by a ratio of ten to one. Being addressed to commoners, they might be expected to provide even more insight into the social roles of Sōtō teachers. However, their usual brevity and widespread use of stereotyped expressions severely limits their usefulness. The format of most medieval Sōtō funeral sermons follows the same question and answer sequence used in *kōan* manuals. Usually, this sequence proceeds in a four-part procession: (1) a mise-en-scène, (2) a leading question, (3) a significant pause, which often is marked in the text by the teacher's signaling with his torch (e.g. drawing a circle of fire in the air, by lighting the pyre, or by throwing it down), and (4) a concluding couplet or statement by the teacher to indicate the Zen approach to the resolution of the question. Unlike the memorial sermons, these questions and answers rarely address in any detail the circumstances of the deceased. Instead, the sermons are just as likely to refer to the human condition in general or to the seasons. For example:

> *For Bath Supervisor Sōgo, upon drawing a large circle [in the air] with the torch, [the teacher] said:*
> The very depth of great enlightenment! The perfect illumination of great wisdom! Dharmas arise from non-being. The Way leads from the treacherous peaks to the level plain. The falling [cherry]

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[72]*Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 4, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:489a, 491a.

> blossoms and the singing birds: Every spot is presently complete (*genjō*). At this very moment, what words would surmise this finish?
> *A long pause.*
> The fields burn without extinguishing. The spring winds blow and already there is life.[73]

The falling blossoms, the return of the song birds, and burning of the fields (in preparation for a new season's planting) all indicate that this cremation had occurred in the spring. Regarding the career of the monk Sōgo, however, nothing is stated.

Instead of eulogizing the deceased, most medieval Sōtō funeral sermons, as in this example, confront the problem of how the living must face death. Often, the sermons contain vivid references to the burning flames of the cremation fire, forcing the audience to confront the finality of death.[74] Yet the concluding statements also assert the ultimate conquering of death through the tranquility of religious realization, as in the following:

> The cages of life and death are but phantom relations. When these phantom relations perish, suddenly [one] returns to the source. One morning: wind and moon. One morning: perishing. An eternity of long emptiness; an eternity of solidity. The late *"name,"* aware of the great matter of Life and Death, took refuge in the Great Ascetic [i.e., the Buddha], converged on the place beyond knowledge [i.e., enlightenment], and marched through the gateway to *hatsunehan* (Skt. *parinirvāṇa*). *Pause.* 'Marching through' indicates what?
> *Throwing down the torch:*

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[73]Fusai Zenkyū, *Fusai Zenji goroku*, fasc. 2, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:156b.

[74]E.g., *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū; Sensō Zenji goroku; Don'ei Zenji goroku;* and *Shōdō Zenji goroku;* in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:237b, 238a, 243a-247a, 249b, 250a, 252a, 253b, 254a-b, 255b, 258a, 263b, 314a, 319b, 323a, 328b, 335a, 349b, 353b, 354b, 361a, 362ab, 363a, 364a, 381a, 382a, 384a-b, 385a, 495a, 498b, 499a-b, 503a, 505b, 506b, 510a-b, 511a-b, 513b, 516a, 569b.

Where the red fire burns through the body, there sprouts a lotus, blossoming within the flames.[75]

The "lotus within the flames" (*kari ren*) is just one of the many stereotyped expression used in Sōtō funeral sermons to indicate the transcendence of life and death. A few sermons simply deny the validity of the conventional concepts of life and death or assert the nonduality of the two.[76] More often, however, the funeral sermons phrase this message in the paradoxical language of the Zen *kōan*. The cremation might be compared to a mud cow entering the ocean (*deigyū nyūkai;* i.e., the dissolving of all dualistic distinctions) or to a wooden horse dancing in a fire (*mokuba kachū;* i.e., false delusions being destroyed without a trace).[77] The transcendence of death described in these assertions is predicated on the implied assertion that the deceased had attained Buddhahood (i.e., salvation) through the performance of the Zen funeral service. Unlike traditional Japanese funerary rites, which had focused on the removal of the pollution of death from the deceased's household, the Zen ceremonies emphasized the positive function of the funeral for the spiritual benefit of the deceased. As with precept ordination ceremonies, therefore, Zen funerals offered a new degree of

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[75]Shōdō Kōsei, *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fasc. 5, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:513a-b. The word for "name" in the text indicates where the deceased person's name normally would be inserted.

[76]E.g., *Giun oshō goroku; Tsūgen Zenji goroku; Fusai Zenji goroku; Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū; Sensō Zenji goroku;* and *Kikuin oshō agyo;* in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:18a, 76a, 92a, 93a, 96a, 97a, 157b, 247a, 311a, 317a, 318a, 336a, 345b, 348b, 361a, 573a.

[77]E.g., *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū;* and *Sensō Zenji goroku*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:236a, 242-45, 248a, 251b, 255b, 260a, 261b, 315b, 339a, 341b, 348a, 353b.

spiritual assurance that previously had been unavailable to the common Japanese.

The paradoxical Zen language of most Sōtō funeral sermons, especially when presented in the form of Chinese verse, probably would have been largely unintelligible to most laymen. The message of spiritual assurance would have been clear enough, but the nature of that assurance might have been misinterpreted. The way in which these stereotyped Zen phrase express the traditional Buddhist doctrines of nonduality and nonsubstantiality (Skt. *śūnyatā*) easily could seem to imply an afterlife.[78] Comparing the deceased to the "true man of no rank" (*mui shinnin*) or to the "man of original immortality" (*honrai fushinin*) would not counter popular Japanese notions that the dead continue to exist within this world.[79] Many Sōtō sermons assert that the dead neither ascend to heaven (*tendō*) nor fall into hell (*jigoku*), a statement which could be construed to agree with the traditional Japanese belief that deceased ancestors remain in a nebulous proximity to their descendants.[80]

While there is no evidence that Sōtō teachers had encouraged popular belief in a soul, neither did they discourage it. To the many

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[78]Takeda Chōshū, *Sosen sūhai: Minzoku to rekishi*, Sāra Sōsho, 8 (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1957), 240-44.

[79]For examples of these expressions, see *Fusai Zenji goroku; Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū; Don'ei Zenji goroku;* and *Shōdō Zenji goroku;* in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:159a, 238a, 244a, 246a, 254b, 257a, 260a-b, 385a, 497b, 506b, 513a, 518b.

[80]For examples of this assertion, see *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū;* and *Sensō Zenji goroku*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:236b, 243a, 246a, 248a, 343b, 348b. Regarding the Japanese conceptions of where the departed reside, see Smith, *Ancestor Worship in Contemporary Japan*, 63-68.

laymen, no doubt, the salvation described in Sōtō funeral sermons would have meant only the promise that their loved one had been freed from the torments of the spirit that follow death. In this regard, it is significant to note that many laymen who witnessed the Zen funeral of Prince Yoshihito (described above) reportedly had believed that the cremation fires liberated his spirit (*tamashii*) from his body.[81] The following example illustrates how a Sōtō funeral sermon based on the doctrine of nonsubstantiality also can seem to affirm empirical attachments to the world:

> . . . *Genjō kōan* is the great difficulty. Right now, try to perceive what is in front of your eyes. Look! The dangling flower is opening--the lotus within the flames. . . . [The cycle of] birth-death and *nirvāṇa* are like last night's dreams. Enlightenment and affliction resemble the billowing smoke. At this very moment, the grand sister sheds her tainted form. Ultimately, where does she travel?
>
> *Throwing down the torch:*
>
> The origin of lakes and streams lies in the ocean. The moon sets, but does not leave the sky.[82]

Although a lay audience would not have understood the full meaning of the sermons delivered at Sōtō funerals, the fact that the sermon accompanied the burning cremation pyre would have rendered the remarks of the Zen master especially dramatic. The physical acts of lighting the fire and waving the torch through the air would symbolize the ability of the Zen master to confront death, while the frequent references in his sermons to the burning corpse and the concluding affirmation of life would reinforce the image of his having attained

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[81] *Kanmon gyoki*, entry for 1416:11:24, in *Zoku gunsho ruijū hoi*, 3:52b.

[82] Kishi Iban, *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:256b.

mastery over the fear of dying. This symbolic power of Zen funeral services would have held great attraction for laymen.

Buddhist biographies of outstanding monks from all traditions often include descriptions of their calmness in death. The Zen tradition, however, has especially emphasized the cultivation of this fearless tranquility--even to the extent that poems composed just before dying constitute a major genre of Zen verse. Mujū Dōgyō asserted that Zen monks were especially impressive in facing death because they routinely meditated as if they would soon die. According to Mujū, monks of other Buddhist schools delayed earnest practice until after they became aware of their impending demise, after it was already too late to prepare themselves.[83] It is possible that the remarkable popularity of Zen funerals among laymen--as is revealed by the large numbers of sermons included in medieval Sōtō recorded sayings--resulted not only from the inherent grandeur of the ceremonies developed in Chinese Chan monasteries but also from the ability of the Japanese Zen monks to impress laymen with their own mastery of death.[84] It would have been this mastery that confirmed the promise of salvation described in the Zen masters' funeral sermons.

Funerals for Women

Analysis of the Buddhist titles used for the deceased in Sōtō funeral sermons reveals that the majority of the services had been

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[83]"Kenninji no monto no naka ni rinju medetaki goto," 451-52.

[84]Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron," pt. 8, *KBRS*, 17 (1986): 179-83, 191-92; and "Zen no sōsō," *Nihongaku*, 10 (Dec. 1987): 144-46.

conducted for women.[85] Men are a majority only among funerals for high-ranking members of the clergy. As much as seventy-two percent of the sermons delivered at lay funerals in the *goroku* of Shōdō Kōsei are for women. In the relatively low status group having the Buddhist titles *Zenmon* (for males) and *Zenni* (for females), the ratio of women to men is more than three to one.[86] Similar ratios in favor of women also are found among funeral sermons in the *goroku* of other medieval Sōtō teachers. In Tsūgen Jakurei's *goroku*, women account for as much as seventy-nine percent of the lay funeral sermons; in Jochū Tengin's *goroku*, sixty-six percent; and in Sensō Esai's *goroku*, sixty-two percent. These figures indicate that women had provided an especially large amount of lay support for Sōtō temples. The preponderance of funeral sermons for laywomen raises questions, such as why women were underrepresented among the clergy and what special attitudes or teachings were directed toward lay women in medieval Sōtō funeral sermons.

There must have been many more nuns at medieval Sōtō monasteries than current records indicate. Thirty nuns contributed to the casting of a bronze bell at Daijiji in 1287. Nuns participated in the funeral services for both Gikai and Gasan.[87] The list of eight temples that Keizan had designated to be administered by his disciples

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[85]For the statistics used in this paragraph, see Hirose, "Zensō to sengoku shakai," 406-7. The figures use below cannot be completely reliable due to the inherent ambiguity of medieval terminology.

[86]Although the term *Zenni* originally meant "Zen nun," it is one of the lowest Buddhist titles used for lay women in Japanese Zen funerals, memorial services and mortuary tablets.

[87]*Gikai sōki;* and *Gasan Jōseki Zenji sōki;* in *ZSZ*, 2, *Shingi*, 2, 21.

included one convent. Yet collections of Sōtō biographies compiled during the Tokugawa period mention the names of fewer than thirty Sōtō nuns from the medieval period. Unlike the Rinzai school with its network of ten major convents (*Niji Gozan;* five each in Kyoto and Kamakura), the medieval Sōtō school never developed monastic centers for training large groups of nuns. A few Sōtō convents did exist, but most Sōtō nuns would conduct their training in small hermitages located outside the monastery gate.[88] They would always be under the supervision of the male Zen teacher and monks of the monastery, unable to assume any positions of monastic authority. In ecclesiastical terms, the status of most nuns who earnestly practiced Zen would hardly differ from that of a devoted laywoman who had received a precept ordination.[89] Therefore, even religious women would have found little incentive to abandon lay life. Of the women who did become nuns, few are mentioned in Sōtō biographies because without access to monastic authority only the most remarkable nuns would have attracted the attention of the monks who compiled these texts.

The life of the nun Eshun illustrates the hardships faced by one such Sōtō nun.[90] Eshun was the younger sister of Ryōan Emyō, the founder of Saijōji. Ryōan had begun his Zen training at a Rinzai monastery in Kamakura, but later studied at Sōjiji and eventually became Tsūgen Jakurei's disciple at Yōtakuji in Tanba (modern Hyōgo Pref.). In 1394, when Ryōan returned to his native province of Sagami (modern

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[88]An example of a medieval Sōtō convent would be Sōjiji (the one located in Mikawa [modern Aichi Pref.]).

[89]Tajima, *Sōtōshū nisōshi*, 200-25.

[90]*Rentōroku*, fasc. 4, in *SZ*, 16, *Shiden*, 1:301-2.

Kanagawa Pref.) to found Saijōji, Eshun already had passed her thirtieth birthday. Although quite beautiful, she had never married. Desiring to follow in her brother's footsteps, she went to Saijōji to be ordained as a nun. Ryōan, however, refused:

> The monastic life is only for the manly (*daijōbu*). Men and women cannot change their lot. If I readily ordained women, then many monks would be corrupted [by sexual temptation].

Eshun would not be discouraged by her brother's attitude. Once she learned that he considered her beauty to be too tempting for the other monks, Eshun scarred her face with red-hot fire tongs. At this show of determination, Ryōan was forced to admit Eshun as a nun and to administer the tonsure and precepts. In spite of her scarred face, Eshun still had to resist the sexual advances of the monks. Several had to be expelled from the monastery. Eshun was single minded in her practice; none of the monks could match her in Zen debate. Even as she became an adept Zen master, Eshun had to endure the scorn of other monks. Once during a visit to Kamakura's Engakuji, the abbot attempted to serve her tea prepared in a wash basin instead of a tea bowl. She simply said, "Oh, this is the tea bowl you always use. Abbot, you must drink out of your own bowl," and gave it back to him.[91] Eshun presided over her own funeral. When she felt that her death was near, she

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[91]According to the account in Eshun's biography, Engakuji, with more than a thousand monks, had a reputation for severe treatment of outsiders. When Ryōan wished to send a message to Engakuji's abbot, none of the monks from Saijōji would go. Only Eshun was willing to volunteer for the task. When the Engakuji monks saw her walk in through the main gate, they were determined to embarrass her. One of the monks rushed forward, raised his robe to expose himself and said: "This old monk's thing is three feet long." Eshun, however, just calmly lifted her robe, spread her legs toward the monk, and said: "This nun's thing is deeper than that." She then continued walking down the corridor. The only ones embarrassed were the monks.

prepared a large bonfire and sat down in the middle of the flames to meditate. Her alarmed brother, rushing over from the monastery, shouted: "Is it hot?" Eshun replied: "For one living the Way, hot and cold are unknown."

Eshun's determined practice of the Way demonstrates Dōgen's assertion that males have no inherent claim to superiority in Buddhism.[92] Dōgen asserted that the fantasies of men, not the presence of women aroused sexual temptation among Buddhist monks.[93] Eshun's biography, nevertheless, also demonstrates the disparity between the ideals proclaimed in Dōgen's writings and the actual attitudes faced by Sōtō nuns. Evidence of this disparity also can be detected in Sōtō funeral sermons as well. The funeral sermons of many Sōtō teachers proclaimed the equality of men and women. Giun, for example, had stated that the precepts delivered one from the distinctions of male and female.[94] Kishi Iban had stated that women cannot by nature be impure since ultimate reality is pure, and Sensō Esai rhetorically had asked: "Who says a female body cannot be a vessel for the Dharma?"[95] Similar assertions of equality are found in funeral sermons by Tsūgen Jakurei, Fusai Zenkyū, and Don'ei Eō.[96] Significantly, these assertions are only

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[92]*SBGZ*, "Raihai tokuzui" chap., in *DZZ*, 1:250.

[93]*SBGZ*, "Raihai tokuzui" chap., so-called *"Himitsu"* ver., in *DZZ*, 1:252. This statement is not found in the "Raihai tokuzui" chapter included in any other version of the *Shōbō genzō*.

[94]*Giun oshō goroku*, rpt. *SKKK*, 8:47-48; alt. in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:18a.

[95]*Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū;* and *Sensō Zenji goroku*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:247b, 328b. Also see 239a, 244a, 253b, 256b, 317a, 337a.

[96]*Tsūgen Zenji goroku; Fusai Zenji goroku*, and *Don'ei Zenji goroku;* in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:76a, 92a, 153a, 159, 385.

found in sermons delivered at funerals for women. Moreover, some sermons by Kishi, Sensō, and Kikuin Zuitan include the intended compliment that, "The deceased had been manly (*daijōbu;* i.e., adept at Zen) in spite of being a woman."[97] From these considerations, it is clear that these Sōtō teachers were referring only to a theoretical equality, based on the Buddhist doctrine of non-duality. In spite of this theoretical Buddhist doctrine, medieval Sōtō teachers did not advocate a status for women higher than that established by secular society. The equality of women described in these funeral sermons, therefore, was to be realized, not in life, but in death.

The funeral sermons of later Sōtō teachers explicitly asserted that Buddhist rites can save women from the special sufferings caused by being female. In these later sermons, assertions of the original non-existence of sexual distinctions rarely appear or are restated in terms of transcending of ones previous (female) limitations.[98] Funeral sermons addressed to deceased women by Shōdō Kōsei, for example, include lines such as: "Having received the three refuges and five precepts, [you] secured a karmic link to the road of enlightenment; now shed the defilement of your female body"; or "Having entered the flames of *zanmai* [Skt. *samādhi*], you directly develop posthumous favorable karma; at this spot, the defilement of your female body is shed and, at this moment,

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[97] *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū; Sensō Zenji goroku;* and *Kikuin oshō agyo;* in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:253b, 256b, 310a, 337a, 360b, 503b, 515a, 521a, 522b, 566a, 570a, 571a, 574a.

[98] E.g., *Kikuin oshō agyo*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:565a, 566a, 567a, 569b, 570a.

the five obstructions that engulf you disappear."[99] Likewise, Kikuin Zuitan's funeral sermons for women contain statements such as: "[Attain] perfect enlightenment on the lotus throne; [attain] sudden liberation from the burrow of the three obediences and the five obstructions."[100] The "five obstructions" mentioned in these sermons refer to the special defilements which are said to prevent women from ever attaining Buddhahood.[101] The "three obediences" refer to the belief that in youth, in maturity, and in old age, women always must obey first their parents, then their husbands, and finally their sons. In the above sermons, the five obstructions and three obediences are affirmed as real obstacles to be overcome. Funeral sermons of medieval Sōtō teachers asserted that the power of the Buddhist precepts and of the Zen funeral rites could free women from the discrimination and hardship that they faced in this world. More women might have received funerals than men simply because women faced more hardships from which they wished to escape. The promise of salvation implicit within Sōtō funeral rites, therefore, probably had more to offer women than to men.

Some Sōtō temples are known to have incorporated unorthodox folk beliefs into the funeral services they performed for women. The most significant of these involved the placing of a copy of the *Ketsubonkyō* into women's coffins as a talisman to save them from

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[99] *Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku*, fascs. 4-5, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:497b, 517-18. Also see 508b, 509b, 510b, 513b, 517b, 518b.

[100] *Kikuin oshō agyo*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:571a. Also see 566a, 567a, 569a, 574a.

[101] See *Miaofa lianhuajing*, fasc. 5, chap. 12, in *T*, 9:35c. The five obstructions also appear in *Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū*; and *Sensō Zenji goroku*, in *SZ*, 5, *Goroku*, 1:239a, 244a, 247b, 307a, 309a, 313a, 315a, 318a, 322a, 336a, 339a, 348a, 358a, 362a.

hell.[102] The *Ketsubonkyō* is a short scripture of unknown origin, which exists in several different versions found only in Japan.[103] All versions of this text assert that only the spiritual aid of the *Ketsubonkyō* can save women from a special blood hell. Women are doomed to this hell because of the pollution caused by their menstrual blood--which not only offends the spirits of the earth but also washes away into the rivers from which holy men might drink. The concept of blood pollution has been particularly strong throughout Japanese history. Therefore, this text would have been very effective in exploiting the special taboos placed on women in Japan. Some rural temples still possess paintings that depict women being saved from the torments of blood hell by copies of the *Ketsubonkyō* that have been thrown down to them by Buddhist monks.[104] These paintings impressed upon laywomen not only the talismanic power of the *Ketsubonkyō* but also the necessity of intervention by the monks who supply copies of the text. At some Sōtō temples, copies of the *Ketsubonkyō* were distributed to women as a personal talisman during mass precept ordination ceremonies.

Initiation documents provide some evidence for showing how the *Ketsubonkyō* had been viewed in medieval Sōtō. The following passage occurs within a longer text, which attempts to cite as precedents for Japanese Sōtō practices fictional events at Mt. Tiantong (Jpn. Tendō), where Dōgen had studied under Rujing:

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[102]Tamamuro, *Sōshiki Bukkyō*, 175-77.

[103]For a detailed description of the *Ketsubonkyō* and its use in Japanese Buddhism, see Takemi Momoko, "'Menstruation Sutra' Belief in Japan," trans. W. Michael Kelsey, *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 10:2-3 (1983), 229-46.

[104]Ibid., 240-42.

> . . . In front of the main gate at Mt. Tendō, there is a river spanned by a large bridge. Near the bridge, lies a large village. In that village, a girl about eighteen- or nineteen-years old died. Loathing rebirth, she would haunt that bridge during her transmigration. When the sun set in the evening, she would float over to the bridge and dance. A monk, wanting to have a better look at this marvelous sight, approached the girl and felt pity for her. The girl said: "Recite aloud the *Daihi jinshu* (Ch. *Dabei shenzhou*) seven times and I will meet you." The monk recited the mystical formula seven times. The girl requested him to recite the *Ketsubonkyō* three times. The monk did so. Then, the girl requested him to recite the *Kongōkyō* (Diamond Sūtra) once. Again, the monk did so. The girl then said: "I will meet you tomorrow night. Master, bring a lineage chart (*kechimyaku*) for me." Before the monk could respond, the girl returned to the village. Keeping her word, the following night the girl waited on the bridge. The monk brought the lineage chart [with which to administer the precepts] and gave [the chart] to the girl. The girl bowed down three times. She was [now] able to enter the Western Pure Land [of Amida Buddha]. The girl said she wanted to move into the shade of the lily magnolia trees (*mokuren*).[105] The monk walked over with her. In the shade of the lily magnolia trees, the girl said: "Hearing you recite the *Daihi jinshu*, the *Ketsubonkyō*, and the *Kongōkyō* was not enough. Receiving your [precept] lineage finally freed me from the injury of transmigration and delivered me to the stage of marvelous enlightenment." Then, she disappeared. That night, the girl appeared in her parents' dreams and said: "Having preceded my parents [in death], I transmigrated in [confusion], unable to find peace.[106] Thereupon, a monk at Mt. Tendō recited scriptures for me and gave me [an ordination and a precept] lineage chart so that I could attain Buddhahood." Startled by their dreams, the parents went to Mt. Tendō to have Buddhist memorial services performed [for their daughter].[107]

The scripture recitations and the conferring of the precept-lineage chart described in this story constitute a posthumous funeral ceremony for the late daughter. Although the *Ketsubonkyō* does not play a central role in the proceedings, it is recited in order to insure that the special blood pollution would not prevent the other rites from being

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[105]According to this text, *mokuren* trees remove pollution.

[106]In place of an illegible character I have inserted the word "confusion."

[107]*Kawara konpon no kirikami*, transmitted ca.1628 by Meian Tōsai, rpt. in Ishikawa Rikizan, "Chūsei Sōtōshū kirikami no bunrui shiron," pt. 4, *KBRS*, 15 (1984): 165b.

effective. This story illustrates how each aspect of the funeral ceremonies--the scripture recitation, the precept ordination, and the memorial service--worked together to provide laymen, and especially laywomen, tangible assurance of spiritual salvation.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Just thirteen days before Dōgen died, he stayed up to watch the full moon for the last time. It was the fifteenth day of the eighth lunar month, the night of the harvest moon. Kenzei (the fifteenth-century Sōtō historian) reports that on that night Dōgen took up his brush and composed the following poem:

Mata min to	Even those autumns past
Omoishi toki no	When I expected
Aki dani mo	To see it again,
Koyoi no tsuki ni	This harvest moon
Nerareya wasuru.	Kept sleepiness away.[1]

Dōgen had been especially fond of the harvest moon. This bright, festive moon is the occasion of nine lectures in his *goroku*, a number greater than occasioned by any other event except the anniversaries of the Buddha's birth and enlightenment (also nine each). In this poem Dōgen declares that the threat of his imminent death has increased his desire to stay awake and enjoy this last harvest moon--a perfectly natural sentiment.

Within the Sōtō school, the authenticity of this poem has never been settled. Its sentiment seems too mundane, too full of human yearning for this poem to have been composed by an enlightened Zen master--someone who has transcended life and death. Yet it is possible to interpret the human yearning in this poem as expressing a higher

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[1] *Kenzeiki*, in *Shohon Kenzeiki*, 85-86.

enlightenment. A well-known Zen saying asserts that for the ordinary man mountains are merely mountains, for the Zen student mountains no longer are mountains, but for the mature Zen master mountains once again are mountains. This means that the attainment of Buddhahood must be a dialectical process that culminates not in a saintly detachment from the world but in a return to the world of human affairs.

A similar dialectical progression can describe the maturation of Sōtō Zen in medieval Japan. Through Dōgen's Sōtō lineage the native traditions of the ascetic meditator inherited the outward trappings and doctrines of the Chinese Chan school. Japanese monks reproduced the Chinese monastic norms and practices in Japan. They mastered the unique idiom of the Chan *gong'an* and studied Chinese Chan literature. Yet medieval Sōtō monks also assumed many of the popular religious functions of the traditional Japanese rural ascetic. The magico-religious undercurrents of Dōgen's monasticism increasingly came into the foreground as Sōtō monks attempted to address their traditional Chan rituals to a rural Japanese audience. The growth of the Sōtō school, therefore, produced a dialectical synthesis of these Chinese rituals and native religious traditions within which the imported Chan practices assumed new functions tailored to the social and religious context of medieval Japan. Like the fully enlightened master who returns to the mundane world of human affairs, medieval Sōtō monks extended their practice of meditation and enlightenment outside the monastery and into the lives of laymen. Below, we will explore the significance of this transformation by viewing the growth of the Sōtō Zen school within the context of the general popularization of Buddhism that occurred following the Kamakura period.

The Sōtō school originated during a time of religious ferment that also produced the major Pure Land, Rinzai and Nichiren schools. Collectively these schools constitute a reformation in Japanese Buddhism.[2] They brought organized Buddhism into the lives of the vast majority of average Japanese for the first time. In each school the complex, scholastic formulations taught in the older Buddhist establishment were distilled to a single, simple practice that invited popular participation in the expression of Buddhist faith. For Dōgen that single practice is Zen meditation: the pleasant method (*dai anraku hōmon*) that expresses one's inherent Buddhahood, the universal method accessible to all people.[3] The emergence of these schools also marked the ascension of the lower-class Buddhist groups that had been repressed by the high culture and aristocratic structure of the previous Buddhism.[4] The relatively uneducated monks who engaged in menial labor or specialized in physical devotions, as well as the pseudomonks who practiced mountain asceticism or resided in rural village shrines emerged from their social and historical obscurity to become the religious leaders of the new schools. In Dōgen's case, Sōtō Zen offered these monks new legitimacy as the Japanese representatives of the Chinese Chan sect. Dōgen's doctrine of *shikan taza* gave religious justification to the aspirations of those monks searching for a single approach (*senju*) to Buddhism. The monastic forms of China provided a

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[2]Stanley Weinstein, "The Concept of Reformation in Japanese Buddhism," in *Studies in Japanese Buddhism*, ed. Ōta Saburō (Tokyo: P.E.N. Club, 1973), 75-86.

[3]*Fukan zazengi* (1233:7:15), in *DZZ*, 2:4; *Bendowa*, in *DZZ*, 1:732, 737, 741-42, alt. 749, 755, 758-59.

[4]Funaoka, "Kamakura shoki Zenshū no seiritsu," 178-81; and *Zenshū no seiritsu*, 120-28.

structured context and systematic approach for mastering Buddhist meditation and enlightenment.

Dōgen's emphasis on the Chinese origins of his teachings and on the righteousness of Rujing not only defended his community against charges of illegitimacy but also cloaked his teachings in the prestige of an exclusive transmission of true Buddhism (*shōbō*). Simultaneously, Dōgen's genius filtered the teachings he learned from Rujing into a Japanese interpretation of Chan suited to the religious needs of the religiously motivated lower-level monks who joined his Zen community. Yet during Dōgen's own lifetime, his Sōtō community remained geographically isolated and economically vulnerable--solely dependent upon Dōgen's charisma for religious authority and upon a few warrior patrons for economic support. Dōgen's Chinese lineage had helped him secure the institutional base that had alluded Nōnin and the Darumashū, but proper lineage alone could not sustain his community. The fledgling Sōtō school lacked government support and faced opposition from the Buddhist establishment. Sectarian survival required the creation of new institutional structures and rites of popular religious participation that could withstand the sudden loss of individual charismatic leaders or powerful patrons. The dialectical transformation of medieval Sōtō resulted from these interrelated institutional and religious imperatives.

Two key elements essential for institutional independence came directly from Dōgen. The first, as just mentioned, was Dōgen's Chinese Chan lineage. The symbolic legitimacy conferred by this lineage carried such great significance that later Sōtō monks who traveled to China

never attempted to import a separate lineage.[5] Giin and Gikai returned from China still regarding themselves as heirs to Dōgen's lineage. Several other prominent medieval monks began their training under a Sōtō master in Japan, then traveled to China, and finally returned home to inherit Dōgen's Sōtō line (Daichi, for example). This aloofness from other Chinese Chan lineages suggests that Sōtō monks asserted a conscious distinction between their Japanese Zen lineage (i.e., their religion) and its nominal Chinese cousin.[6] Dōgen's second key contribution was self-sufficiency in precept ordinations. Earlier I illustrated the importance of this point by citing the striking contrast between the ordinations undergone by Gikai and Keizan. While the Gikai (as a Darumashū novice) had no alternative but to leave Echizen for a Tendai ordination on Mt. Hiei, Keizan (as a Sōtō novice) easily obtained an ordination at Eiheiji in Echizen. Dōgen's ability (and willingness) to conduct private ordinations without state approval insured the ecclesiastical autonomy of early Sōtō monasticism.

This Sōtō independence contrasted favorably with the constraints endured by Rinzai *Gozan* monasteries in the capital. The polemics of Mt. Hiei against Zen during the Nanzenji Gate Incident (ca.1367-1368) reveal that *Gozan* monasteries sent their novice monks to Mt. Hiei for proper Buddhist ordinations.[7] When conflict erupted between Nanzenji (a *Gozan* monastery) and Mt. Hiei, Tendai prelates attempted to assert authority by claiming that Zen constituted no more

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[5]Satō Shūkō, "Sōtō Zensha no Nitchū ōrai ni tsuite," *SG*, 26 (1984): 281.

[6]Funaoka, *Zenshū no seiritsu*, 241-42.

[7]Regarding the Nanzenji Gate Incident, see Collcutt, *Five Mountains*, 120-22.

than a subsect of Tendai because all the Zen monks of the capital received their Buddhist ordinations on Mt. Hiei. In a petition to the imperial court and to the Ashikaga shogunate the Tendai clerics threatened to withdraw future ordination privileges from Zen monks. If enacted this prohibition would have severely crippled the growth of *Gozan* monasteries. The Tendai appeal further asserted that true Zen could be found only within the Tendai school. The sectarian Zen practiced in the *Gozan* is not a legitimate sect--is not true Buddhism (*shōbō*). In the eyes of the Tendai leaders, the so-called Zen monks were non-Buddhists who read Chinese Taoist texts and never practiced meditation. They asserted that the native *kami* and the Buddhas both hated the Zen school.[8]

These harsh words must be viewed against the backdrop of the contemporary political struggle between Nanzenji and the Tendai school. For medieval Sōtō, the significance of this Tendai hostility lies in the fact that the Tendai doctrinal rejection of any independent sectarian status for Zen remained completely unmodulated in spite of strong patronage of the *Gozan* by the court and shogunate. Even as late as the fourteenth century, Zen monasteries in the capital still required the uncertain cooperation of a hostile Tendai establishment.[9] This hostile Tendai appeal dates to the same period when Gasan's disciples were founding new Sōtō monasteries throughout Japan. The efforts of the Ashikaga shogunate to regulate Nanzenji and the other *Gozan* monasteries at this time indirectly influenced the Sōtō school through the

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[8]*Nanzenji taiji soshō* (1368:8:4), rpt. in Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, 4, *Chūseihen 3*, 308-29.

[9]Funaoka, *Zenshū seiritsu*, 248.

regulations and institutional policies established by Tsūgen Jakurei at Sōjiji--and subsequently duplicated within many Sōtō factions.

Medieval Sōtō factions achieved institutional stability through an interlocking web of pedagogical and prescriptive measures. Sōtō masters associated dharma succession with initiation into the techniques for administering ordinations. Every new Sōtō teacher could recruit and ordain his own students. Within the monastery the systematic initiations in *kōan* discourse and in the performance of monastic rituals streamlined training. The rotation of abbotship (*rinjū*) between different lineages promoted rapid turnover in monastic offices. Able monks could be promoted up the ranks very quickly.[10] New dharma heirs often were obligated to serve terms as abbot not only at their master's monastery but also at the head monastery of their faction. Therefore, Zen lineages in medieval Sōtō assumed both spiritual and administrative significance. Dharma lineages united monasteries into sectarian factions, within which the dharma transmission seniority of the various founders determined the relative status of each monastery.

The link between dharma transmission and abbotship succession in medieval Sōtō exhibits many parallels to the use of dharma scrolls (*fajuan*) in prewar China, where Buddhist monasteries also equated these two processes.[11] Yet the Sōtō practice seems to have been unique in several respects. First, head temples promoted abbotship succession as

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[10]Rapid promotions ended during the Tokugawa period because of government regulations requiring all Sōtō teachers to possess a minimum of twenty-years of experience. See Tokugawa Ieyasu, *Eiheiji sho hatto*, in *Komonjo*, 1:20.

[11]Holmes Welch, "Dharma Scrolls and the Succession of Abbots in Chinese Monasteries," *T'oung-Pao*, 50:1-3 (1963), 93-115; and *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. Press, 1967), 156-77.

a means of raising contributions. Many new abbots assumed no administrative duties beyond fulfilling their financial obligations to the monastery. Sōjiji could even inaugurate two new abbots on the same day.[12] Some monastic regulations threatened eligible monks who failed to serve as abbots with severe punishment--even excommunication in the form of destroying the offender's succession certificate.[13] Finally, monasteries enforced strict exclusivity in terms of dharma lineage. Monks from smaller factions were forced to discard their former lineage and receive a new dharma transmission in order to obtain positions within monasteries of larger factions. This link between dharma transmission and abbotship forged very cohesive, strong temple networks.

The historical record reveals that only monasteries with well-established, broad bases of support commanded the resources necessary for surviving warfare and fires. Before discussing the means by which medieval Sōtō monks expanded their popular support, we must reiterate that they did not attempt to broaden their economic foundations by consciously supplanting their imported Zen with more popular esoteric or native religious rites. Throughout the medieval period the Sōtō leaders relied upon the prestige of their strict Zen training to impress (and attract) both laymen and Buddhist specialists from other traditions. The popular awe readily commanded by the accomplished ascetic remained too valuable a commodity to discard. Medieval monastic regulations, *kirikami*, and recorded sayings (both *goroku* and *kikigakishō*) leave no doubt of the intense meditation practice and strong sectarian

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[12]Hirose, "Gennōha no Eiheiji-Sōjiji shusse mondai to Kantō jiin no dōkō," 212.

[13]*Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi*, in *Komonjo*, no. 1886, 2:742.

consciousness of medieval Sōtō monks. Rather than being a mere degeneration of Dōgen's "pure" Zen, medieval Sōtō marks the period in which Sōtō monks established the practice of Chinese-style Zen meditation and regulated monastic norms throughout Japan.

Modern Sōtō scholars often cite the widespread study of *kōan* as evidence of medieval deviation from Dōgen Zen. Yet this issue must remain open. Dōgen's writings on *kōan* contain much ambiguity. Significantly, medieval Sōtō *kōan* manuals (*monsan*) suggest a different modality of *kōan* training than that associated with descriptions of *kōan* study in modern Japanese Rinzai Zen. Rather than an intellectual riddle or meditation exercise, *kōan* were studied as models of truth or as idealized statements of truth. This style of *kōan* study seemed designed to insure that future Zen masters would never be at a loss for words to express the ultimately ineffable truths of Zen. This fluency in *kōan* discourse conferred religious authority on Zen teachers. The ceremonies of abbotship inauguration, for example, required stylized *kōan* debates between the new abbot and the monastic officers.[14]

Medieval Sōtō monks transformed Dōgen's Zen by addressing their monastic practices to the religious needs of laymen outside the monastery. The rigorous meditation practiced inside the monks' hall served to insure the efficacy the talismans and ritual prayers provided to lay patrons. Likewise, the *kōan* questions and answers originally developed for training disciples inside the monastery were used by Sōtō teachers to enhance the spiritual power of their public sermons (e.g., at lay funerals). Folk tales implied that the meditation powers of the

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[14]In modern Sōtō stylized *kōan* debates (known as *hossen*) occur between the supervisor of the monks' hall (*shuso*) and other senior monks at the beginning of the ninety-day training session.

itinerant Zen priests enabled them to pacify ghosts and evil spirits. Most important, the enlightenment attained by Zen monks through their meditation practice would be transferred to laymen through Zen ordinations and Zen funeral rites.

As mentioned above, precept ordinations were important from the start. Dōgen and his successors performed lay ordinations to strengthen the bonds uniting newly founded Sōtō temples to their patrons. By the fifteenth century, Sōtō monks routinely conducted precept ordinations for large numbers of laymen from all levels of medieval society. These ordination ceremonies introduced basic Zen teachings to the common people, promoted the founding of new temples, and opened the way for the popularization of Buddhist funerals for laymen. These rituals created formal bonds between each lay person and Sōtō teacher performing the ordination. Sōtō monks bestowed precepts not just on laymen but also on local *kami*, on evil spirits and on animals. These ordination rituals greatly aided the establishment of the Sōtō school in rural Japan by symbolically demonstrating the spiritual power wielded by Sōtō Zen monks and by ceremonially bonding traveling Sōtō masters to a particular group or locality. Ordinations (performed posthumously) also established the basis for administering Zen funerals to laymen.

Sōtō monks proved to be especially successful at popularizing funerals in rural areas and at providing rites well-adapted to Japanese sentiments. By adapting rites originally intended for Chinese monasteries, Sōtō funerals provided a degree of solemnity, elaborate display, and ritual complexity that previously had been unavailable to the average Japanese. The *goroku* of medieval Sōtō teachers indicate that by the fifteenth century, funeral services already had begun to

occupy a major position among the activities and economic foundations of Sōtō temples. The vast majority of these services--more than eighty percent of the recorded total--were performed for laymen. These Zen-style rites defined the standards that were emulated within all other Japanese Buddhist schools.[15]

Two elements run through all of these developments, namely, emphasis on the power of the exclusive Zen lineage and *kōan* discourse. Significantly, Sōtō monks employed the same paradoxical language found in *kōan* to justify every facet of daily Zen ritual. The stereotyped questions and answers in initiation documents (*kirikami*) provided ideological justification for posthumous ordinations. *Kōan* language in funeral sermons commonly suggested a transcendence of death. Sōtō monks mastered *kōan* curriculums as a step in succeeding to their master's lineage. In turn, they would then be able to present laymen with a chart (*kechimyaku*) of this same lineage at public precept ordination ceremonies and as part of funerary rites. In each case the recipient thereby symbolically joined the "blood line" of the Buddha. The same *kechimyaku* that authenticated the private transmission of the *kōan* curriculum also provided a tangible, public symbol of spiritual power of the Zen master. This popularization of *kechimyaku* radically transformed the basic purpose of precept ordinations from the taking of spiritual vows intended to insure the purity of the monastic community into receipt of a magical talisman that offered laymen spiritual assurance in this world and promised salvation in the next.

In classical Zen, a lineage chart symbolized more than just one's direct link to the Buddhas and patriarchs. It also testified to

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[15]Fuji, *Bukkyō girei jiten*, 281-336.

the authenticity of one's religious understanding and teachings. One joined this lineage by proving one's enlightenment to a proper master. In the lay ordinations and funeral rites conducted by medieval Sōtō monks, however, this usual sequence of transmission was reversed. Instead of one's realization of Zen enlightenment serving as the sole act that could provide entrance into this exclusive lineage, one's initiation into the Zen lineage provided the ritual moment for one's symbolic attainment of enlightenment. During medieval times, the full implications of this symbolism implicit within the rituals remained unexplained. Sōtō scholars did not begin examining the doctrinal implications of their practices until the Tokugawa period.

At that time Manzan Dōhaku made these symbolic implications more explicit when he asserted that Zen dharma transmission between master and disciple could occur whether or not the disciple had realized enlightenment (*go migo shihō*) just so long as the ritual of personal initiation had been performed.[16] Manzan still recognized the practical differences between the attainment of the Zen master in the monastery and that of the layman at a precept ordination ceremony. He distinguished between two types of Zen lineages, namely, the dharma transmission (*denbō*) recorded on the succession certificate (*shisho*) and the precept lineage (*denkai*) recorded on the *kechimyaku*. According to Manzan, only the first can testify to one's ability to teach Zen.[17] The acceptability of Manzan's ideas has never been fully resolved within the modern Sōtō school (and a full discussion of their background lies outside the scope of the present study). Yet it is significant to note

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[16]*Manzan oshō Tōmon ejoshū*, leaf 7a, in *SBGZTS*, 20:606.

[17]Ibid., leaves 12b-14a, in *SBGZST*, 20:609-10.

that Manzan's theories developed after medieval Sōtō rituals had blurred the traditional distinctions between Zen lineages and Zen enlightenment.

Dōgen's early writings had described Zen meditation as the easy practice, open to anyone.[18] In actuality, however, the physical and temporal requirements of Zen meditation precluded all but the most determined of laymen from regular participation. Throughout the medieval period Buddhists of other schools criticized Zen for this very reason. For example, Kōben (a.k.a. Myōe; 1173-1232) of the Kegon school expressed great interest in Zen and became an accomplished meditator. Yet Kōben wrote that the Darumashū (i.e., Zen) had nothing to offer laymen.[19] A similar criticism is found in the fourteenth-century Tendai account (cited earlier) purporting to describe the persecution of Dōgen at Fukakusa. According to this text, Dōgen had been rejected because his teachings represented the approach of an *engaku*.[20] This Buddhist word (i.e., Skt. *pratyekabuddha*) refers to anyone who fails into a deluded, self-centered enlightenment, totally unconcerned about the spiritual needs of others. Likewise, the 1368 Tendai polemic against the Nanzenji (referred to above) attacked Zen for focusing exclusively on self-enlightenment without any means of saving others (*jishō no ichiro, keta no riyaku ni mukawazu*).[21] These criticisms highlight the fact that Zen alone of all the new Japanese Buddhist schools originating

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[18] *Fukan zazengi* (1233:7:15), in *DZZ*, 2:4; *Bendowa*, in *DZZ*, 1:732, 737, 741-42, alt. 749, 755, 758-59.

[19] *Kyakuhaimōki*, fasc. 1, rpt. in *Kamakura kyū Bukkyō*, 116.

[20] Kōsō, "Zenshū kyōke idō no koto," in *Keiran jūyōshū*, fasc. 2, in *T*, 76:539c-40a.

[21] *Nanzenji taiji soshō*, rpt. in Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, 4, *Chūseihen 3*, 314.

during the Kamakura period lacked a simple practice readily accessible to laymen. Medieval Sōtō monks met this need by transforming monastic rituals into popular rituals for laymen--rites through which laymen could share in the spiritual power of the Zen masters.

In medieval Sōtō, Dōgen's single, simple practice of meditation only (*shikan taza*) formed the basis of a multivalent religious exercise capable of functioning on several religious levels simultaneously. For the monks training in the monks' hall, sitting in meditation, the Sōtō monastery continued to function as the center of the true Buddhism introduced by Dōgen. For powerful warrior patrons who prayed for military victories and economic prosperity, the purity of the monks insured the efficacy of simple religious prayers (*kitō*). For local villagers who expect the Zen masters to pacify evil spirits, summon rain, or empower talismans, the meditative powers (*zenjōriki*) of the Sōtō monks formed the basis of simple folk magic. For the average person who sought spiritual reassurance, the religious attainment of the Zen monks provided a symbolic link to the enlightenment of the Buddha through lay ordinations. Finally, the grieved family of a recently deceased person found condolence in the ability of the Zen priests to posthumously transform their loved one into an enlightened monk. Traditional Zen practice ultimately united these disparate functional orientations and social contexts into a vertically integrated religious whole.

Traditional explanations of the popularization of medieval Sōtō Zen have obscured the importance of these multifarious functions of monastic Zen--often by over emphasizing the influences of esoteric Buddhism (*mikkyō*). Yet the reorientation of monastic rituals toward lay

religious needs signifies an internal transformation of Zen. Instead of the elitist regime of monastic meditation initiated by Dōgen, medieval Sōtō developed into a popular religion that implicitly promised salvation to laymen who did not practice Zen. Sōtō Zen masters functioned as spiritual intermediaries who used the power of their meditation, lineage, and funeral rites to unite their lay supporters with the Buddha.

APPENDIX 1

CHRONOLOGY OF DŌGEN'S WRITINGS

Dōgen's writings provide an invaluable chronology of his activities and of the changes in his style of teaching. The following table supplements the dicussion of Dōgen and his disciples in chapters 2 and 3 above. It is a composite of a few of the more recently published chronological tables of Dōgen's writings and activities.[1] Dōgen's undated compositions have not been listed, although early copies of Dōgen's works by other individuals are noted (if those copies have been dated). Some of the dates given below are subject to revision because of discrepancies between the different recensions of Dōgen's writings. Tables such as this one can provide only a rough estimation of the evolution of Dōgen's writings.[2]

Entries for Dōgen's own writings appear in unadorned type, while entries for copies by other individuals are in round brackets, and entries for other significant events are in square brackets. Months and days are entered according to the Japanese lunar-calendar dates recorded in the texts so that the years overlap slightly with their western equivalents.

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[1]See (a) Ishikawa Rikizan, "Ejō Zenji no denki," 186-89; (b) Itō Shūken, "'Eihei kōroku' setsushi nendaikō"; (c) Itō Shūken, "'Shōbō genzō' senjutsu shishū nendai kō"; (d) Kawamura, "Dōgen Zenji to Eiheiji no kaisō," in *Eiheijishi*, 1:62-67, 85-89, 138-39; (e) Sano Bunnō, ed., *Shōbō genzō shosha nenpyō* (Tokyo: By the editor, 1982); and (f) the various entries in *Kaidai*.

[2]For a complete list of the writings attributed to Dōgen, including the undated texts not included in this chart, see *DZZ*.

1227:10:5	Composed *Sari sōdenki.*
1230	[Dōgen left Kenninji to establish his own Zen community.]
1231:7	Composed *Ji Ryōnen ni hōgo.*
1231:8:15	Composed one version of *Bendōwa.*
1233 summer	Lectured (*jishū*) *SBGZ*, "Maka hannya haramitsu" chap.
1233:7:15	Revised (or composed) *Fukan zazengi.*
1233:8	Composed *SBGZ*, "Genjō kōan" chap.
1234:4:5	Composed *Gakudō yōjinshū.*
1234	[Ejō became Dōgen's student, began writing *Zuimonki.*]
1235:8:13	[Dōgen administered precepts to Rikan,] Wrote *Sankoku shōden bosatsukai kechimyaku.*
1235	Composed Preface to Chinese-language (*shinji*) *Shōbō genzō.*
1235:12	Composed *Uji Kannon Dōriin sōdō kanjinsho.*
1236:10:15	[Founded Kōshōji.]
1237 summer	Lectured *Tenzo kyōkun.*
1238	[Ejō stopped writing *Zuimonki.*]
1238:4:18	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Ikka myōju" chap.
1239:4:25	Lectured *Jūundōshiki.*
1239:5:25	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Sokushin ze Butsu" chap.
1239:10:23	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Senjō" chap.
1239:10:23	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Senmen" chap. (1st time).
1240:3:7	Composed *SBGZ*, "Raihai tokuzui" chap.
1240:4:20	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Keisei sanshō" chap.
1240:8:15	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Shoaku makusa" chap.
1240 winter	Composed *SBGZ*, "Uji" chap.
1240 winter	Composed *SBGZ*, "Den'e" chap.
1240:10	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Kesa kudoku" chap.

1240:10:18	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Sansuikyō" chap.
1240	*Goroku* (i.e, *Eihei kōroku*) contains 31 lectures (*jōdō*) presented before end of 1240.
1241:1:3	Composed and Lectured *SBGZ*, "Busso" chap.
1241:3:27	Composed *SBGZ*, "Shisho" chap. (1st version).
1241 spring	[Ekan's Darumashū joined Dōgen's community.]
1241 summer	Composed *SBGZ*, "Hokke ten Hokke" chap.
1241 summer	Composed and Lectured *SBGZ*, "Shin fukatoku" chap.
1241:5:3	(*SBGZ*, "Hokke ten Hokke" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1241:9:9	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Kokyō" chap.
1241:9:15	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Kankin" chap.
1241:10:14	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Busshō" chap.
1241:10	Composed *SBGZ*, "Gyōbutsu īgi" chap.
1241:11:14	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Bukkyō" (Buddhist Teachings) chap. (1st time).
1241:11:16	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Jinzū" chap.
1241:12:12	Revised *SBGZ*, "Shisho" chap.
1241	*Goroku* contain 48 lectures presented during 1241.
1242:1:28	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Daigo" chap. (1st time).
1242:3:18	Composed *SBGZ*, "Zazenshin" chap. (1st time)
1242:3:20	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Inmo" chap.
1242:3:23	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Bukkōjōji" chap.
1242:4:5	Composed *SBGZ*, "Gyōji" chap.
1242:4:20	Composed *SBGZ*, "Kaiin zanmai" chap.
1242:4:25	Composed *SBGZ*, "Juki " chap.
1242:4:26	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Kannon" chap.
1242:5:10	(*SBGZ*, "Kannon" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1242:5:15	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Arakan" chap.

1242:5:21	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Hakujushi" chap.
1242:6:2	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Kōmyō " chap.
1242:9:9	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Shinjin gakudō" chap.
1242:9:21	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Muchū setsumu" chap.
1242:10:5	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Dōtoku" chap.
1242:11:2	(*SBGZ*, "Dōtoku" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1242:11:5	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Kabyō" chap.
1242:11:7	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Bukkyō" (Buddhist Teachings) chap. (2d time).
1242:11:7	(*SBGZ*, "Kabyō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1242:12:17	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Zenki" chap. at Kyoto residence of Hatano Yoshishige.
1242	*Goroku* contain 26 lectures presented during 1242.
1243:1:6	Composed *SBGZ*, "Tsuki" chap.
1243:1:13	(*SBGZ*, "Kokyō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:1:18	(*SBGZ*, "Gyōji" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:1:19	(*SBGZ*, "Busshō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:1:19	(*SBGZ*, "Zenki" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:2:2	(*SBGZ*, "Shinjin gakudō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:2:25	(*SBGZ*, "Shisho" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:3:10	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Kūge" chap.
1243:4:29	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Ko Busshin" chap. at Rokuharamitsuji.
1243:5:55	Composed *SBGZ*, "Bodaisatta shishōbō" chap.
1243	[Tōfukuji completed.]
1243 summer	(*SBGZ*, "Uji" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:7:7	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Kattō" chap.
1243:7:14	(*SBGZ*, "Tsuki" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:7:15-	[Dōgen moved to Echizen.]

1243:int.7:1	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Sankai yuishin" chap. at Mt. Zenjihō.
1243:int.7:3	(*SBGZ*, "Hakujushi" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:int.7:23	(*SBGZ*, "Ikka myōju" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:int.7:27	(*SBGZ*, "Sankai yuishin" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:int.7	(*SBGZ*, "Tsuki" chap. copied.)
1243:9:16	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Butsudō" chap.
1243:9:20	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Mitsugo" chap.
1243:9:24	Revised *SBGZ*, "Shisho" chap. (2d time).
1243:9	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Shohō jissō" chap.
1243:9	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Bukkyō" (Buddhist Scriptures) chap.
1243:10:2	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Mujō seppō" chap.
1243:10:15	(*SBGZ*, "Mujō seppō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:10:16	(*SBGZ*, "Mitsugo" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:10:20	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Senmen" chap. (2d time).
1243:10:20	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Menju" chap.
1243:10:23	(*SBGZ*, "Shisho" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:10:23	(*SBGZ*, "Bustudō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:10	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Hosshō" chap.
1243:11:6	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Baika" chap.
1243:11:13	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Jippō" chap.
1243:11:19	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Kenbutsu" chap.
1243:11:27	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Henzan" chap.
1243:11	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Zazenshin" chap. (2d time).
1243:11	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Zazengi" chap.
1243:12:17	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Ganzei" chap.
1243:12:17	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Kajō" chap.
1243:12:25	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Ryūgin" chap.

1243:12:25	(*SBGZ*, "Henzan" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:12:28	(*SBGZ*, "Ganzei" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243:12	(*SBGZ*, "Kaiin zanmai" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1243	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Sesshin sesshō" chap.
1243	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Darani" chap.
1243	*Goroku* contain 21 lectures presented during 1243.
1244:1:1	(*SBGZ*, "Kajō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:1:11	(*SBGZ*, "Sesshin sesshō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:1:13	(*SBGZ*, "Darani" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:1:20	(*SBGZ*, "Zazenshin" chap. copied.)
1244:1:20	(*SBGZ*, "Juki" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:1:27	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Daigo" chap. (2d time).
1244:1:27	(*SBGZ*, "Kūge" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:2:1	(*SBGZ*, "Jinzū" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:2:4	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Soshi seiraii" chap.
1244:2:12	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Udonge" chap.
1244:2:14	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Hotsu bodaishin" chap.
1244:2:14	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Hotsu mujōshin" chap.
1244:2:15	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Nyorai zenshin" chap.
1244:2:15	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Zanmaiō zanmai" chap.
1244:2:15	(*SBGZ*, "Zanmaiō zanmai" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:2:24	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Sanjūshichi bodai bunpō" chap.
1244:2:27	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Tenhōrin" chap.
1244:2:29	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Jishō zanmai" chap.
1244:3:1	(*SBGZ*, "Tenhōrin" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:3:3	(*SBGZ*, "Kattō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:3:9	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Dai shugyō" chap.

1244:3:9	(*SBGZ*, "Sanjūshichi bodai bunpō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:3:13	(*SBGZ*, "Dai shugyō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:3:20	(*SBGZ*, "Daigo" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:3:21	Lectured *Taitaikohō*.
1244:3:21	(*SBGZ*, "Maka hannya haramitsu" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:4:12	(*SBGZ*, "Jishō zanmai" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:5:12	(*SBGZ*, "Ko Busshin" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:5:14	(*SBGZ*, "Busso" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:6:3	(*SBGZ*, "Sansuikyō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:6:7	(*SBGZ*, "Menju" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:7:18	[Founded Daibutsuji.]
1244:10:16	(*SBGZ*, "Kenbutsu" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244:12:13	(*SBGZ*, "Kōmyō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1244	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Shunjū" chap.
1245 spring	(*SBGZ*, "Hokke ten Hokke" chap. copied.)
1245:3:6	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Kokū" chap.
1245:3:12	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Hatsuu" chap.
1245:3:13	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Ango" chap.
1245:6:26	(*SBGZ*, "Butsudō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1245:7:4	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Dajinsū" chap.
1245:7:8	(*SBGZ*, "Kankin" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1245:7:12	(*SBGZ*, "Sokushin ze Butsu" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1245:7:17	(*SBGZ*, "Hatsuu" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1245:10:22	Lectured *SBGZ*, "Ōsaku sendaba" chap.
1245:12:24	(*SBGZ*, "Jippō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1245	Composed *Bendōhō*.
1245	*Goroku* contain 15 lectures presented during 1245.

1245:6:15	Composed *Nihonkoku Echizen Eiheiji chiji shingi.*
1246:6:15	[Changed name of Daibutsuji to Eiheiji.]
1246:8:6	Lectured *Jikuinmon.*
1246:9:15	Lectured *SBGZ,* "Shukke" chap.
1246	*Goroku* contain 74 lectures presented during 1246.
1247	*Goroku* contain 35 lectures presented before 1247:8.
1247:8	[Dōgen journeyed to Kamakura.]
1248:3:13	[Dōgen returned to Eiheiji from Kamakura.]
1248	*Goroku* contain 52 lectures presented during 1248.
1249:1:1	Composed *Jūroku rakan genzuiki.*
1249:1	Composed *Shuryō shingi.*
1249	*Goroku* contain 58 lectures presented during 1249.
1250:1:11	Lectured *SBGZ,* "Senmen" chap. (3d time).
1250	*Goroku* contain 52 lectures presented during 1250.
1251	*Goroku* contain 68 lectures presented during 1251.
1252	*Goroku* contain 51 lectures presented during 1252.
1253:1:6	Composed *SBGZ,* "Hachi dainingaku" chap.
1253:3:9	(*SBGZ,* "Sanjigō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1253:8:28	[Dōgen died.]
1253:12:10	(*Hōkyōki* copied by Ejō.)
1254:9:9	(*Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* copied by Giin.)
1255:4:9	(*SBGZ,* "Hotsu bodaishin" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1255 summer	(*SBGZ,* "Shime" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1255 summer	(*SBGZ,* "Kie sanpō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1255 summer	(*SBGZ,* "Jinshin inga" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1255 summer	(*SBGZ,* "Shi Zenbiku" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1255 summer	(*SBGZ,* "Kesa kudoku" chap. copied by Gien.)

1255 summer	(*SBGZ*, "Shkke kudoku" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1255 summer	(*SBGZ*, "Kuyō shobutsu" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1255 autumn	(*SBGZ*, "Hachi dainingaku" chap. copied by Gien.)
1258:4:25	(*SBGZ*, "Busshō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1259 summer	(*SBGZ*, "Bukkōjōji" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1260:4:11	(*SBGZ*, "Busshō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1260:7	(*SBGZ*, "Zanmaiō zanmai" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1261 summer	(*SBGZ*, "Busshō" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1263	(*Gakudō yōjinshū* copied.)
1263?	Senne wrote commentary on 75-chap. *SBGZ*.
1267	[Gikai became abbot of Eiheiji.]
1272?	[Gien became abbot of Eiheiji.]
1275:5:25	(*SBGZ*, "Kesa kudoku" chap. copied.)
1275:6:16	(*SBGZ*, "Arakan" chap. copied by Ejō.)
1275:6:25	(*SBGZ*, "Hotsu bodaishin" chap. copied.)
1275:7:11	(*SBGZ*, "Keisei sanshiki" chap. copied.)
1275:7:26	(*SBGZ*, "Kokyō" chap. copied by Kankai.)
1275:7:29	(*SBGZ*, "Uji" chap. copied by Kankai.)
1275:7:29	(*SBGZ*, "Kannon" chap. copied by Kankai.)
1277 summer	(*SBGZ*, "Maka hannya haramitsu" chap. copied by Kankai.)
1277 summer	(*SBGZ*, "Busshō" chap. copied by Kankai.)
1277 summer	(*SBGZ*, "Shinjin gakudō" chap. copied by Kankai.)
1277 summer	(*SBGZ*, "Sokushin ze Butsu" chap. copied by Kankai.)
1277 summer	(*SBGZ*, "Ikka myōju" chap. copied by Kankai.)
1277 summer	(*SBGZ*, "Daigo" chap. copied by Kankai.)
1279:3:5	(*SBGZ*, "Ryūgin" chap. copied.)
1279:3:10	(*SBGZ*, "Hotsu mujōshin" chap. copied by Ejō.)

1279:5:17	(*SBGZ*, "Kokū" chap. copied by Giun.)
1279:5:20	(*SBGZ*, "Ango" chap. copied by Giun.)
1279:5:21	(*SBGZ*, "Kie sanpō" chap. copied by Giun.)
1279:6:23	(*SBGZ*, "Soshi seiraii" chap. copied.)
1279:6:23	(*SBGZ*, "Kuyō shobutsu" chap. copied.)
1279:6:23	(*SBGZ*, "Nyorai zenshin" chap. copied.)
1280	[Ejō died.]
1292:8:13	(*Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō* copied by Keizan.)
1299:11:23	(*Hōkyōki* copied by Giun.)
1303	[Kyōgō began his commentary on the 75-chap. *SBGZ*.]
1308	[Kyōgō finished his commentary.]
1329	[Giun completed his verse commentary on the 59-chap. *SBGZ*.]

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Index 1

SINO-JAPANESE CHARACTERS

agyo	下語
Aizu Jigenji satasho	會津示現寺沙汰書
ajari	阿闍梨
Ajimi river	味見川
aku muge	惡無碍
Ama Ken'iu kishinjō	尼けんいふ寄進状
Ama Ryōko yuzurijō	尼りやうこ讓状
Ama Shiyun kishinjō	尼しゆん寄進状
Ama Soichi kishinjō	尼祖一寄進状
Amida	阿彌陀
Amidaju	阿彌陀咒
andojō	安堵状
andu	案牘
ango	安居
ankoku jidai	闇黒時代

Annen	安然
annon	安穩
Annonji	安穩寺
anraku hōmon	安樂法門
anri	行履
anshō zenji	暗證禪師
Aohara	粟生原
Arachi	愛發
Asakura Takakage (1428-1481)	朝倉孝景
Ashikaga Gakkō	足利學校
Ashikaga Tadayoshi (1306-1352)	足利直義
Ashikaga Takauji (1305-1358)	足利尊氏
ashō	亞相
Asuwa river	足羽川
Atobe Kageie	跡部景家
Atobe Kagetsugi	跡部景次
Azegami Baisen (1825-1901)	畔上楳仙
Azukaridokoro Kamo bō	預所鴨某

Baihō Jikushin (1633-1707)	梅峰竺信
Baiin	梅隠
Baijiang guishengsong (Jpn. *Hyakujō kijōju*)	百丈規縄頌
Baijiang guishi	百丈規式
Baijiang Huaihai (Jpn. Hyakujō Ekai; 749-814)	百丈懐海
baiken	賣券
Baikōin	梅香院
Baisan Monpon (d.1417)	梅山聞本
Baisan oshō jūshichikajō kingo	梅山和尚十七箇條禁語
Baisan oshō jūshichikajō sadame	梅山和尚十七箇條掟
Baisan oshō kaihōron	梅山和尚戒法論
Ban'an Eishu (1591-1654)	萬安英種
Ban'an oshō monjū	萬安和尚文集
Banjin Dōtan (1698-1775)	萬仞道坦
bansan	晩参
Banshōji	萬松寺
Bassui oshō gyōjitsu	抜隊和尚行實

Bassui Tokushō (1327-1387)	拔隊得勝
Benchū	辯註
bendō	辨道
Bendōhō	辨道法
Bendōwa	辨道話
Benzaiten	辯才天
Beppu Kageyuki	別府景行
besshi	別帋
betsugo	別語
biku	比丘
bikuni	比丘尼
Bishamon	毘沙門
Biyanlu (Jpn. *Hekiganroku*)	碧巖錄
bō	某
Bō gechijō	某下知狀
Bokusan (1821-1910)	穆山
Bonmōkyō (Ch. *Fanwanjing*)	梵網經
Bonmōkyō ryakushō	梵網經略抄

Bonsei (d.1427)	梵清
bosatsukai	菩薩戒
bugyōsō	奉行僧
Bukke ichi daiji yawa	佛家一大事夜話
Bukke no daiji	佛家之大叓(事)
Bukkō kokushi goroku	佛光國師語錄
bushi no kokoro	武士ノ心
Busshari sōden	佛舍利相傳
Busshō	佛生
Busshō no san	佛性參
Busshū Sen'ei (1794-1864)	佛州仙英
Busso shōden bosatsukai kyōkai jumon	佛祖正傳菩薩戒教戒授文
Busso shōden bosatsukai sahō	佛祖正傳菩薩戒作法
Busso shōden hōsan no daiji	佛祖正傳飽參之大事
Busso shōden zenkaishō	佛祖正傳禪戒鈔
Butsubutsu no yōki, soso no kiyō	佛佛之要機 祖祖之機要
Butsudaji	佛陀寺
Butsudaji miraisai no okibumi no anmon	佛陀寺未來際之置文之案文

Butsuden 佛殿

Butsu nehan 佛涅槃

Caodong (Jpn. Sōtō) 曹洞

Caoshan Benji (Jpn. Sōzan Honjaku; 840-901) 曹山本寂

Caoxi Huineng (Jpn. Sōkei Enō; 638-713) 曹溪慧能

Chan (Jpn. Zen) 禪

Chanlin baoxun yinyi (Jpn. *Zenrin hōkun ongi*) 禪林寶訓音義

Chanlin beiyong qinggui (Jpn. *Zenrin biyō shingi*) 禪林備用清規

Chanyuan qinggui (Jpn. *Zennen shingi*) 禪苑清規

Chen Zunsu (Jpn. Chin Sonshuku) 陳尊宿

Chien 知圓

Chigen (d.1702) 知玄

Chikuba Kōtaku (1419-1471) 竹馬光篤

Chikudō Ryōgen 竺堂了源

Chikuko Shōyū (1380-1461) 竹居正猷

Chikusan Tokusen (1344-1413) 竺山得僊

Chikusan Tokusen goroku	竺山得僊語録
Chikushō jukai kirikami	畜生授戒切紙
Chikusō Chikan	竹窓智嚴
chinjuki	鎮守忌
Chiō Eishū (1371-1426)	智翁永宗
chishiki	知識
Chishō	智照
Chita	知多
Chitō Shōgen	智燈照玄
Chixiu Baijiang qinggui (Jpn. *Chokushū Hyakujō shingi*)	勅修百丈清規
Chōenji	長圓寺
Chōkai	澄海
Chōkai ihai	澄海位牌
Chōkei	長溪
Chokushi Shinkū Zenji gyōdōki	勅諡真空禪師行道記
Chokushū Hyakujō shingi Untōshō	勅修百丈清規雲桃抄
chōsan	朝參
Chūgan Engetsu (1300-1375)	中巖圓月

Chūgan Shōteki (d.1622)	中巌正的
Chūjin (1065-1138)	忠尋
chūko Tendai	中古天台
chūmon	注文
chūshū	中宵
Chūtei	中庭
Chūyō	中庸
cibu	祠部
Conglin jiaoding qinggui zongyao (Jpn. *Sōrin kōtei shingi sōyō*)	叢林校定清規總要
Dabaojijing (Jpn. *Daihōshakkyō*)	大寶積經
Dabei shenzhou (Jpn. *Daihi jinshu*)	大悲神咒
Dahui Pujue Chanshi yulu (Jpn. *Daie Fugaku Zenji goroku*)	大慧普覺禪師語錄
Dahui Zonggao (Jpn. Daie Sōkō, 1089-1163)	大慧宗杲
dai	代
Daianji	大安寺
dai anraku hōmon	大安樂法門
Daian Shueki (1406-1473)	大菴須益

Daichi (1290-1366)	大智
Daichi Zenji geju	大智禪師偈頌
Daichū Kōshun	大仲光椿
Daie (Ch. Dahui)	大慧
Daien Monsatsu (d.1636)	大淵文刹
Daigaku	大學
daigo	代語
Dai hannyakyō	大般若經
Daihi jinshu (Ch. *Dabei shenzhou*)	大悲神咒
Daijiji	大慈寺
Daijiji saikō chokushosha	大慈寺再興勅書寫
Daijikkyō	大集經
daijōbu	大丈夫
Daijōji	大乘寺
Daijōji ichiya hekiganben	大乘寺一夜碧巖辨
Daijōji Sotetsu uketorijō	大乘寺素哲請取狀
Daijō renpōshi	大乘聯芳志
Daiken Hōju	大賢鳳樹

Daiko	大古
Daikokuten	大黒天
Daikō Myōshū (d.1437)	大綱明宗
Daikū Genko (1428-1505)	大空玄虎
Dainichi	大日
Daiō	大應
Daiō kana hōgo	大應假名法語
Dairyō Gumon (1613-1687)	大了愚門
daisan	大参
Daisō Shūsa (d.1537)	大翁宗佐
Daitetsu Sōrei (1333-1408)	大徹宗令
Daitōin	大洞院
Daitokuji	大徳寺
Daitokuji Shūon'an	大徳寺酬恩庵
Daitsūji	大通寺
Daiyūji	大用寺
Dajian (Jpn. Daiken)	大建
Daocheng (Jpn. Dōsei)	道誠

Daofang (Jpn. Dōhō)	道昉
Daoming (Jpn. Dōmyō; d. ca.874-879)	道明
Daoxuan (Jpn. Dōsen; 596-667)	道宣
Daoxuan (Jpn. Dōsen; 702-760)	道璿
Daruma	達磨
Darumaki	達磨忌
Darumashū	達磨宗
datsuraku shinjin	脱落身心
Deguang (Jpn. Tokkō; 1121-1203)	德光
deigyū nyūkai	泥牛入海
denbō	傳法
denbō deshi	傳法弟子
Denbō shitsunai mitsuji monki	傳法室内密示聞記
Denju no san: Nenge no wa	傳授参 拈華之話
denkai	傳戒
denkai deshi	傳戒弟子
Denkōroku	傳光録
dentō	傳燈

Dentōin	傳燈院
Dentō kōroku	傳燈廣錄
Deshan (Jpn. Tokusan; 780-865)	德山
deshi	弟子
dōgata	堂方
Dōgen (1200-1253)	道元
Dōgenki	道元忌
dojijin	土地神
Dokuan Genkō (1630-1698)	獨庵玄光
Don'ei Eō (1429-1504)	曇英慧應
Don'ei oshō gyōjō	曇英和尚行狀
Don'ei oshō yuikai no sho	曇英和尚遺戒之書
Dongshan Lianjie (Jpn. Tōzan Ryōkai; 807-869)	洞山良价
dōnin	道人
Donki	曇希
dono	殿
Donshū Tōrin	呑舟透鱗
dōshu	堂衆

Dōsō Dōai (d.1379)	道叟道愛
Dugu Chunpeng (Jpn. Dokuko Shunhō)	獨孤淳朋
dujue (Jpn. *dokkyaku*)	獨脚
dutuo (Jpn. *dokudatsu*)	獨脱
e (transmission syllable)	懐
Echizen Eiheiji shōmei	越前永平寺鐘銘
Edo bakufu jisha bugyō tōshi	江戸幕府寺社奉行達
Egi	懐義
ego	回互
ehon	會本
Eichi	永智
Eifuku Menzan oshō kōroku	永福面山和尚廣録
Eigenji	永源寺
Eigen Keishō	榮嚴慶松
Eigi	永義
Eihei (Ch. Yongping)	永平
Eihei Buppō Dōgen Zenji kinenroku	永平佛法道元禅師紀年録
Eihei chūkō	永平中興

Eihei daisandai Daijō kaisan dai oshō senge sōji kiki	永平第三代大乘開山大和尚遷化喪事規記
Eihei Dōgen oshō kōroku	永平道元和尚廣錄
Eihei Gen Zenji goroku	永平元禪師語錄
Eiheiji	永平寺
Eiheiji jūjishoku no koto	永平寺住持職事
Eiheiji kaisan kigyo Hokke kōshiki	永平寺開山忌行法華講式
Eiheiji Sakyū shojō	永平寺祚球書狀
Eiheiji sanko ryōzuiki	永平寺三箇靈瑞記
Eiheiji sanso gyōgōki	永平寺三祖行業記
Eiheiji sho hatto	永平寺諸法度
Eihei juko	永平頌古
Eihei kaisan Dōgen dai oshō kana hōgo	永平開山道元大和尚假名法語
Eihei kaisan Dōgen Zenji gyōjō Kenzeiki	永平開山道元禪師行狀建撕記
Eihei kaisan gogyōjō	永平開山御行狀
Eihei kaisan goyuigon kiroku	永平開山御遺言記錄
Eihei sanso gyōjōki	永平三祖行業記
Eihei shitsuchū monsho	永平室中聞書

Eikyō disturbance (1438)	永享ノ亂
Eikyū	永久
Einin	永仁
Eisai (a.k.a. Yōsai; 1141-1215)	榮西
Eishōin	永昌院
Eishū	英就
Eitokuji	永徳寺
Ejō (1198-1280)	懷弉 (奘, 弉, 省)
Ejō shōjōsha	懷弉證状寫
Ekan (Darumashū leader)	懷鑒
Ekan (Keizan's mother; d. ca.1314)	懷觀
Eki	懷暉
Ekkei Rin'eki (d.1514)	越溪麟易
ekō	囘向
Ekyū	慧球
Emituo (Jpn. Amida)	阿彌陀
Enchi	圓智
Enchin (814-891)	圓珍

endonkai	圓頓戒
engaku	緣覺
Engaku Daishi Daruma	圓覺大師達磨
Engakuji	圓覺寺
Enkō	圓公
Enkyōdo Sōtōshū jiin honmatsuchō	延享度曹洞宗寺院本末牒
Enni Ben'en (1202-1280)	圓爾辯圓
Ennin (793-864)	圓仁
enoki	榎
Enpō dentōroku	延寶傳燈錄
Enshū Horie Shukuro Zenji kaisan Meiten Keiju dai Zenji goroku	遠州堀江宿蘆禪寺開山命天慶受大禪師語錄
Ensō monsan	圓相門參
Entsū Shōdō Zenji goroku	圓通松堂禪師語錄
Enzan Somei (d.1742)	圓山素明
Enzūin	圓通院
Enzūin gyōji no sadame	圓通院行事定
Erin	慧林
Eryō (812-860)	慧亮

Eshō	懐照
Eshun	慧春
Etsuō	悦翁
fajuan	法巻
Fanwangjing (Jpn. *Bonmōkyō*)	梵網經
Faxian (Jpn. Hokken; d. ca.420)	法顕
Fayan Chanshi yulu (Jpn. *Hōen Zenji goroku*)	法演禪師語錄
Fengyang Wude Chanshi yulu (Jpn. *Fun'yō Mutoku Zenji goroku*)	汾陽無德禪師語錄
Fenyang Shanzhao (Jpn. Fun'yō Zenshō; 947-1024)	汾陽善昭
Foguo Yuanwu Chanshi biyanlu (Jpn. *Bukka Engo Zenji hekiganroku*)	佛果圜悟禪師碧巖錄
fuego	不回互
Fugeshi District	鳳至郡
Fujiwara Masatsugu	藤原雅繼
Fujiwara Noriei	藤原教家
Fujiwara Norikane baiken	藤原章兼賣券
Fujiwara Norikane sarijō	藤原章兼避狀

Fujiwara Toshihito (fl. 915)	藤原利仁
Fujiwara Toshitada baiken	藤原利忠賣券
Fujiwara Toshitada sarijō	藤原利忠避状
Fujiwara Yoshiyasu (d.1286)	藤原義康
Fukan zazengi	普勸坐禪儀
fukatoku shin	不可得心
Fukushōji	福昌寺
Furong Daojie Chanshi yuyao (Jpn. *Fuyō Dōkai Zenji goyō*	芙蓉道楷禪師語要
Furong Daojie (Jpn. Fuyō Dōkai; 1043-1118)	芙蓉道楷
Fusaiji	普濟寺
Fusai oshō jū Nōshū Shogakuzan Sōji Zenji goroku	普濟和尚住能州諸嶽山總持禪寺語錄
Fusai Zenkyū (1347-1408)	普濟善救
Fusan Yūden	斧山勇傳
fusatsu	布薩
Fusatsu ekōryō sokkagyō chūmon	布薩回向料足下行注文
Fusetsu	附說
Fushaku	不借

Fushiminomiya	伏見宮
fushiryō	不思量
fushiryō ni shite gen, fuego ni shite jō	不思量而現、不回互而成
fushiryō ni shite igi wo genzuru toki wa genjō sunawachi kōan; fuego ni shite shushō wo jōzuru toki wa kōan sunawachi genjō	不思量而現威儀時現成即公案、不回互而成修證時公案即現成
Fushukuhanhō	赴粥飯法
fūsō	風葬
Fusō zenrin sōbōden	扶桑禪林僧寶傳
Futsū bosatsukai kōshaku	普通菩薩戒廣釋
Fuzōin kishiki	普藏院規式
gaki	餓鬼
gaku	學
gakuryo	學侶
gakushu	學衆
ganbō manzoku	願望満足
gan (Ch. *kan*)	龕
Gaosengchuan (Jpn. *Kōsōden*)	高僧傳

Gaoseng Faxianchuan (Jpn. *Kōsō Hokkenden*)	高僧法顯傳
Gao *shami*	高沙彌
garanbō	伽藍法
Gasan Jōseki (1276-1366)	峨山韶碩
Gasan monpa no shū Sōjiji jūban no koto	峩山門派之衆總持寺住番之事
ge	箇
gechijō	下知狀
Gekiō Sōjun (1433-1488)	逆翁宗順
Genanpō	銀杏峰
genchen (Jpn. *konjin*)	根塵
Gen'e	玄慧
Gengomon	言語門
genjō kōan (Ch. *xiancheng gong'an*)	現成公按
Genjū	幻住
Genka Tekkyō (d.1321)	眼可鐵鏡
Genkō Shakusho	元亨釋書
Genmyō	玄明

Gennō Shinshō (1329-1400)	源翁心昭
Gennō Zenjiden	源翁禪師傳
genshō	元宵
Genshō Chinzan	源照珍山
Genso Koun Tettsū san daison gyōjōki	元祖孤雲徹通三大尊行状記
genze riyaku	現世利益
geshū	外集
Gessen Ryōin (1319-1400)	月泉良印
Gessen Ryōin Zenji gyōjōki	月泉良印禪師行狀記
Getsuan	月菴
Getsudō Sōki (1285-1361)	月堂宗規
Getsuin Shōsho (d.1433)	月因性初
gi (transmission syllable)	義
Gidaiji	祇陀寺
gidan	疑團
Gien (d. ca.1313)	義演
Giin (1217-1300)	義尹
Giin (Hōkyōji abbot)	義印

Gijun	義準
Gikai (1219-1309)	義介
Gikai (Higo Sōtō monk)	義海
Gikan fuhōjō	義鑑附法状
Ginnanpō	銀椀峰
Ginō	義能
Gishō	義勝
Gison	義荐
Giun (1253-1333; disciple of Jakuen)	義雲
Giun (Darumashū monk)	義運
Giun oshō goroku	義雲和尚語録
Giyū	義勇
go	悟
Godaigo (1288-1339)	後醍醐
Gogyakunin monrai	五逆人聞雷
Gohanazono (1419-1470)	後花園
goi	五位
Goichijō	後一條

gokikigaki	御聞書
Gokikigakishō	御聞書抄
Gokokuji	護國寺
Gokoku shōbōgi	護國正法義
Gokurakuin	極樂院
goma	護摩
go migo shihō	悟未悟嗣法
Gonara tennō rinji	後奈良天皇綸旨
Gonara tennō rinjisha	後奈良天皇綸旨寫
gong'an (Jpn. *kōan*)	公案（按）
gongfu	公府
gon risshi	權律師
Gon risshi Jōken sademegaki	權律師定賢定書
Gorōhō	五老峰
goroku	語錄
Gosaga (1220-1272)	後嵯峨
Gosha	五社
Goshikikō fushigi nikki	五色光不思議日記

Goshiki saiunki	五色彩雲記
Goshō	御抄
Gotoba (1180-1239)	後鳥羽
Goyō no ki	御影之記
Goyōzei tennō rinji	後陽成天皇綸旨
Goyuigon	御遺言
gozan (Ch. *wushan*)	五山
Gozan jissatsuzu	五山十刹圖
Gozu	牛頭
Guada (Jpn. *Kata*)	掛搭
Guanding (Jpn. Kanjō; 561-632)	灌頂
Gukoku	愚谷
Guzeiin	弘誓院
Guze Kannon	弘誓觀音
Gyōgi (669-749)	行基
Gyōhō (722-797)	行表
Gyokuin Eiyo (1431-1524)	玉隠英璵
Gyokukan	玉澗
Gyokukō Zuiyo (d.1578)	玉崗瑞璵

Gyokusenji	玉泉寺
Gyōnin	暁仁
Hachiman	八幡
ha (i.e., *seppa*)	破 ・ 説破
Hajakuji	波着寺
Hanrei	凡例
Hanshitsu Ryōei	繁室良栄
Ha'nyū Mura	羽生村
hanza	半座
Hasebe Hidetsura	長谷部秀連
Hasebe Masatsura	長谷部正連
Hasebe Norinobu	長谷部のりのぶ
Hasebe Ruriwaka	長谷部るりわか
Hasebe Yoritada	長谷部よりただ
Hasebe Zenshin	長谷部禪信
Hasshiki no sanwa	八識之參話
Hatano Izumo-no-kami Jirō Kongo	波多野出雲守次郎金吾
Hatano Motomasa	波多野元尚
Hatano Shigemichi	波多野重通

Hatano Yoshishige (d.1258)	波多野義重
hatsunehan	般涅槃
hattō	法度
Hau Hōō	破有法王
Heisenji	平泉寺
hekigan	碧巖
Hekigan Daikūshō	碧巖大空抄
Hekiganroku (Ch. *Biyanlu*)	碧巖錄
Hekiganshū (Ch. *Biyanji*)	碧巖集
Hekiganshū dankan	碧巖集斷簡
Hekiganshūshō	碧巖集抄
hekigo	碧後
Hekizan nichiroku	碧山日錄
hekizen	碧前
Hiei, Mt.	比叡山
hifu datsuraku	皮膚脱落
higan	彼岸

Higashiyama Kōtaiji	東山高台寺
Higo Daijiji Hokke shosha sekitōmei	肥後大慈寺法華書寫石塔銘
Higo Daijiji shōmei	肥後大慈寺鐘銘
Higoshū Daijiji kaisan Kangan Zenji ryakuden	肥後州大慈寺開山寒巖禪師略傳
Higo Sōtō	肥後曹洞
hihon	秘本
hi'i	被位
hijiri	聖
hikkyō	畢竟
Hiko, Mt.	彥山
Himitsu shōbō genzō	秘密正法眼藏
Himitsu shōbō genzō chūkai	秘密正法眼藏注解
hinin	非人
Hisodera	比蘇寺
hisoka ni iwaku	私云
hizō	秘藏
Hōben	方便
Hoda daisan Mugoku Zenji goroku	補陀開山無極禪師語錄

Hodaji	補陀寺
Hodaji honsan	補陀寺本參
Hoda kaisan Gessen Zenji goroku	補陀開山月泉禪師語錄
Hōgo: Kaisan no kotoba	法語、開山之言葉
Hōgyoku	芳玉
Hohan	浦帆
hōin	法位
hōjō	方丈
Hōjō Noritoki	北條業時
Hōjō Sadaaki (1278-1333)	北條貞顯
Hōjō Takatoki (1303-1333)	北條高時
Hōjō Tokimune (1251-1284)	北條時宗
Hōjō Tokiyori (1227-1263)	北條時賴
Hokekyō	法華經
Hokkai	北海
Hokke senbō	法華懺法
Hōkō *bosatsu*	放光菩薩
Hōkōji Dono	法光寺殿
Hōkyō (Ch. Baoqing)	寶慶

Hōkyōji 寶慶寺

Hōkyōki 寶慶記

Hōkyō yuishoki 寶慶由緒記

hon 本

Honchō kōsōden 本朝高僧傳

hongaku hōmon 本覺法門

Hongren (Jpn. Kōnin or Gunin; 601-674) 弘忍

Hongzhi Zhengjue (Jpn. Wanshi Shōgaku; 1091-1157) 宏智正覺

honji 本寺

honke 本家

honrai fushinin 本來不死人

honshō myōshu 本證妙修

Hōō 法王

Hōōji 寶應寺

Hōonji 報恩寺

Hōō Nōshō Zenji tōmei 法王能照禪師塔銘

Hōsenji (founded by Jōken) 寶泉寺

Hōsenji (sponsored by the Yokose) 鳳仙寺

Hosokawa Yoriyuki (1329-1392)	細川頼之
hossen	法戰
Hōten Ryūun (d.1841)	法天龍雲
hōtō	法燈
Hottō	法燈
hōza	法座
Hōzan (Yōkōji abbot)	寶山
Hōzan Ajō (fl.1438)	法山阿浄
hua (Jpn. *wa*)	話
Huangbo Xiyun (Jpn. Ōbaku Kiun)	黄檗希運
Huangzhi Chanshi guanlu (Jpn. *Wanshi Zenshi kōroku*)	宏智禪師廣錄
Huanzhuan qinggui (Jpn. *Genjūan shingi*)	幻住庵清規
Huiyan Zhizhao (Jpn. Maigan Chishō)	晦巖智昭
Hujie (Jpn. *Gokai*)	護戒
Hyakurenshō	百練抄

Hyakushaku kantō ni zashi yō wo? Dai, bōnen to shite zasu. Iwaku, jippō gen zenshin wo? Dai, odoridaosu. Iwaku, ku wo? Shinjin datsuraku; datsuraku shinjin.	百尺竿頭ニ坐シ様ヲ、弋 忘然ト坐ス、云 十方現全身様ヲ、弋 躍倒ス、云句於、 身心脱落、脱落身心。
ichi no miya	一ノ宮
ichi shinjitsu nomi	唯一眞實
Ichiunsai	一雲齋
Ichiya hekiganshū	一夜碧巖集
ihai	位牌
Iichi	以一
Ijira Ensō	伊自良圓聰
Ijira Tomonari	伊自良時成
Ijira Tomotoshi	伊自良知俊
Ikka Bun'ei (1425-1509)	一華文英
Ikkei Eishū (d.1403)	一径永就
Ikkō ikki	一向一揆
Ikkyū Sōjun (1394-1481)	一休宗純
Ikō (d.1572)	以馨
Imazu Hirotaka	今津洪嶽

Inari	稲荷
inari	居成
Inazu	稲津
in'in ekishi	因院易師
innen	因縁
ino (Ch. *weinuo*)	維那
ippō wo shōsuru toki wa ippō wa kurashi	一方を證するときは一方はくらし
Ise	伊勢
Ishō Tokugan (1360-1437)	惟肖得巖
Isō Chūshin (d.1505)	爲宗仲心
isshi inshō	一師印證
isshū fujintei shūshi	一生不盡底宗旨
Isshū oshō isho	一州和尚遺書
Isshū Shōi (1416-1487)	一州正伊
Isurugiyama	石動山
Itō Dōkai (1874-1940)	伊藤道海
Itsū Kieju (d.1519)	惟通桂儒
Iwamatsu Iezumi	岩松家純

Jakuen (Ch. Jiyuan; 1207-1299)	寂圓
jakugo	着語
Jakushitsu	寂室
Jakushū Eifuku oshō sekkai	若州永福和尚說戒
Jiexia (Jpn. *Kaige*)	解夏
Jiexia (Jpn. *Ketsuge*)	結夏
Jigenji	慈眼寺
jigoku	地獄
Jikaishū	自戒集
Jikinyo -Chō (d. 1503)	直如 叟
Jikishi Gentan (d. 1776)	直指玄端
Jikokuten	持國天
jiko no shōtai	自己ノ正體
Jikugen Chōsai	竺源超西
Jikuinmon	示庫院文
Jinbō	神保
Jincisi (Jpn. Jōjiji, or Jinzuji)	淨慈寺

jinenchi	自然智
Jinenchishū	自然智宗
Jingde chuandenglu (Jpn. *Keitoku dentōroku*)	景德傳燈錄
Jingdesi (Jpn. Keitokuji)	景德寺
Jingfusi (Jpn. Keifukuji)	景福寺
jinmiraisai okibumi	盡未來際置文
Jinzuji (Ch. Jincisi)	浄慈寺
jippō danna	十方檀那
Jippō Ryōshū (1318-1405)	實峯良秀
Jippō Ryōshū Zenji goroku	實峯良秀禪師語
Jiritsu zazen no koto	持律坐禪事
Ji Ryōnen ni hōgo	示了然尼法語
jisha	侍者
Jisha bugyō	寺社奉行
jishō no ichiro, keta no riyaku ni mukawazu	自證之一路，不向化他之利益
Ji Shōzen shikō	示性禪姉
Jitō (empress)	持統

jitō	地頭
Jitokuji	自得寺
jitōshiki	地頭職
Jizō	地藏
Jōa	成阿
jōan	状案
Jōbokuin	浄牧院
Jochū Tengin (1365-1440)	如仲天誾
Jochū Tengin hōgo	如仲天誾法語
jōdō	上堂
jōgyō	浄行
Jōjiji (Ch. Jincisi)	浄慈寺
Jōjūji	浄住寺
Jōkan	定觀
Jōkei (1155-1213)	貞慶
Jōken	定賢
Jōken risshi Gasan oshō tōji sen'yūjō	定賢律師峩山和尚當寺施入状

Jōkin hōe fuzokujō	紹瑾法衣附屬狀
Jōkin hotsuganmon	紹瑾發願文
Jōkinki Butsuji shussen keiyakujō	紹瑾忌佛事出錢契約狀
Jōkin nenki Butsuji sajō	紹瑾年忌佛事差定
Jōkin okibumi	紹瑾置文
Jōkin yuzurijō	紹瑾讓狀
Jōkyū Disturbance	承久ノ變
Jōron (Ch. *Zhaolun*)	肇論
Jōseki jihitsu shojō	韶碩自筆書狀
Jōseki monto renbanjō	韶碩門徒連判狀
Jōseki okibumi	韶碩置文
Jōseki yuimotsu bunpaijō	韶碩遺物分配狀
Jōshin'in	定心院
Jōshōan	常昭庵
Jōshōji	常昭寺
Jōshū Daisenzan Hodaji zoku denki	上州大泉山補陀寺續傳記
Jōtō shōgakuron narabi ni Eian sōdōki	成等正覺論并永安僧堂記
Jōwa	貞和

joya	除夜
joya no shōsan	除夜之小參
Jōyōan	承陽庵
Jōzan Ryōkō (d.1736)	定山良光
Ju bosatsukaigi	授菩薩戒儀
jūji	住持
Jūjishoku nin katai monjo no koto	住持職人可帶文書事
jukai	授戒
jukaie	授戒會
Ju Kakushin kaimyaku	授覺心戒脈
Juko	頌古
jumon hosshi	誦文法師
Ju Rikan kaimyaku	授理觀戒脈
jūrokujōkai	十六條戒
Jūroku rakan genzuiki	十六羅漢現瑞記
jūsanki	住山記
Jūsoku shōbō genzō	十則正法眼藏
Jusshu chokumon	十種勅問

Jusshu gitai	十種疑滞
Juun Ryōchin (d.1516)	壽雲良椿
jūzenji	十禪師
Juzhi (Jpn. Gutei)	俱胝
Jūzoku nichiiki tōjō shosoden	重續日域洞上諸祖傳
Kageyu Kōji Fujiwara Kanenaka	勘解由小路藤原兼仲
Kaian Myōkei (1422-1493)	快庵妙慶
kaidō seppō	開堂説法
Kaiganji	海岸寺
kaige	解夏
Kaihan kenshi no rei	開版禁止令
Kaihō no honji	戒法之品次
kaiki	開基
kairo	開爐
kaisan	開山
kaisantō	開山塔
kaishū	戒集
Kakua	覺阿

Kakuan	覺晏
Kakunen	覺念
Kakushin ju Shin'yu kaimyaku	覺心授心瑜戒脈
Kamakura *kanrei*	鎌倉管領
Kamakura Shōgunke migyōshoan	鎌倉将軍家御教書安
kami	神
kan	貫
Kana kenshōshō	假名見性抄
kanchō	管長
Kanchūki	勘仲記
kan'en	勸縁
kan'ensho	幹縁疏
Kangan	寒巖
Kangan Giin Zenji ganmon	寒巖義尹禪師願文
kan'in	監院
kanjin	觀心
Kanjin	觀真
Kankai	寛海

Kankei (1817-1889)	環溪
kankin	看經
Kankō ruijū	漢光類聚
kanmon	貫文
Kanmon gyoki	看聞御記
kanna	看話
Kannon	觀音
Kannon Dōriin	觀音導利院
kanpaku	關白
Kanshō	觀照
kanshu	貫首
Karaten	迦羅天
kari ren	火裏蓮
Kasan'in Saishō Zennmon Shakuen	花山院宰相禪門釋圓
kashaku	掛錫
Kashū Shōjurin Daijō gokoku Zenji shitsunai mitsuden kirikami	加州松樹林大乘護國禪寺室內密傳切紙
kasō	火葬
Kasuga castle	春日城

Kasugazan Rinsen kaisan Don'ei Zenji goroku	春日山林泉開山曇英禪師語録
kata gishiki	掛塔儀式
Katsuharan	活波瀾
Kawajiri Minamoto Yasuaki	河尻源泰明
Kawara konpon no kirikami	河原根本之切紙
Kazō Gidon (1375-1455)	華藏義曇
kechi bakari	血斗
kechien kanjō	結緣灌頂
kechimyaku	血脈
Kechimyakushū	血脈衆
Kegonkyō	華嚴經
Keitokuji (Ch. Jingdesi)	景德寺
Keizan Jōkin (1264-1325)	瑩山紹瑾
Keizan oshō shitsuchū okibumi	瑩山和尚室中置文
Keizan shingi	瑩山清規
Keizan teison mondō	瑩山帝尊問答
Kenchōji	建長寺
Kendō (d.1746)	謙堂

Kenfukuji	建福寺
Ken'iu	けんいふ
Ken Jōdo denkairon	顕浄土傳戒論
Kenkō	建綱
kenkō	遣蝗
Kenkon'in	乾坤院
Kenkon'inbon	乾坤院本
Kenninji	建仁寺
Kenninji no monto no naka ni rinjū medetaki goto	建仁寺ノ門徒ノ中ニ臨終目出事
kenshō	見性
Kenshōron	見性論
Kenzei	建撕
Kenzeiki	建撕記
Ketsubonkyō	血盆經
Ketsudō Nōshō (1335-1427)	傑堂能勝
Ketsudō oshō gyōjō oyobi Kenshū oshō nenpu	傑堂和尚行状及謙宗和尚年譜
ketsuge	結夏

ki fusantei no shinin	鬼不散底死人
kigai	己亥
Kijun	喜純
kikan	機關
kikigaki	聞書
Kikuchi	菊池
Kikuchi Takemori	菊池 武澄
Kikuchi Takenao	菊池 武直
Kikuchi Takesada	菊池 武貞
Kikuchi Takesada nado rokumei rensho kishōmon	菊池武貞等六名連署起請文
Kikudō Soei	菊堂祖英
Kikuin oshō agyo	菊隠和尚下語
Kikuin Zuitan (1447-1524)	菊隠瑞潭
Kikyōmon (Ch. *Quijingwen*)	龜鏡文
Kindō Ryōkiku (1408-1477)	金堂良菊
Kinome Tōge	木ノ芽峠
Kinryūji	金龍寺
Kinsei Village	金生村

Kippōji	吉峰寺
kirikami	切紙
Kiryū	桐生
kisei	祈晴
Kisen Shūshō (d.1493)	龜泉周勝
kisetsu	祈雪
kishi	癸巳
Kishi Iban (1404-1468)	器之為璠
Kishi Iban Zenji goroku geshū	器之為璠禪師語錄外集
kishinjō	寄進狀
kishin jōan	寄進狀案
Kishizawa Bunko	岸澤文庫
Kishizawa Ian (1865-1955)	岸澤惟安
kishōjō	起請狀
kishōmon	起請文
Kishun	喜舜
kissho hajime	吉書始
Kita Asuwa	北足羽

kitō	祈禱
kiu	祈雨
Kiun Sokyoku (1424-1499)	旗雲祖旭
Kiyosumi, Mt.	清澄山
Kiyū	喜雄
kōan (Ch. *gong'an*)	公按(案)
Koan Rintotsu	虚安麟咄
Koan Shikan (d.1341)	壺菴至簡
kōan wo nenjite daigosu	公案を捻じて大悟す
Kōben (1173-1232)	高辯
Kōfukuji	廣福寺
Kōfukuji sōjō	興福寺奏狀
Kofuse	小布施
Kōgan Shōden (1334-1431)	光岩正電
Kōgon	光嚴
Kōgon jōkōin sen'an	光嚴上皇院宣案
Kohō Chisan (1879-1967)	孤峯智璨
Kohō Kakumyō (1271-1361)	孤峰覺明

kōjō	向上
Kokaidai	巨海代
Kokaidaishō	巨海代抄
Kokai Ryōtatsu (d.1599)	巨海良達
Kōka keifuden	弘化系譜傳
Kokan Shiren (1278-1346)	虛關師鍊
Kōkenji	孝顯寺
Kokūzō	虛空藏
Koma	小間
Komashi	小間氏
komonjo	古文書
Kō Moronao shojō	高師直書狀
Kōmyō hōji nyūdō zen kanpaku Michiiekō shobunjō	光明峰寺入道前關白道家公處分狀
Kōmyō shingon	光明真言
Kōmyōzō zanmai	光明藏三昧
Kongo	金吾
Kongōchō mujō shōshū dentō kōroku	金剛頂無上正宗傳燈廣錄
kongō hannya	金剛般若

Kongōkyō	金剛經
Kongō Zanmaiin	金剛三昧院
Konoe Iezane (1179-1243)	近衛家實
Konoe Kanetsune (1210-1259).	近衛兼經
kōrō no san	香炉ノ參
Kōsan Myōsan	香山妙三
kōshi	孝子
Kōshin	宏心
Koshitsu Shunsaku	虎室春策
Kōshōji	興聖寺
Kōshōji goroku	興聖寺
Kōshū	光周
kosoku (Ch. *guze*)	古則
kosoku kōan	古則公案
Kōtaiji	高台寺
Kōtakuji	高澤寺
Kōtakuzan Fusaiji nichiyō shingi	廣澤山普濟寺日用清規
Koten Shūin	古篆周印

Kōtokuji	皇德寺
Kōzan Tetsuma (d.1839)	恒山鐵磨
Kozen	古禪
Kōzen gokokuron	興禪護國論
Kōzuke Sōrinji denki	上野雙林寺傳記
kū	空
kufū	工夫
Kuga Mitsuun (1817-1889)	久我密雲
Kujō Michiie (1193-1252)	九條道家
kumonsen	公文錢
Kuroishi, Mt.	黒石山
Kyakuhaimōki	却癈忘記
Kyōgō	經豪
kyōkai	教會
Kyōkai jumon	教戒授文
Kyōkai shishin	教海指針

Kyōō Unryō (1267-1341)	恭翁運良
Kyoshitsu Sokū	虚室祖空
Kyōun shishū	狂雲詩集
Kyōunshū	狂雲集
Kyūgai Donryō (d.1652)	久外媆良
Kyūgan Tōeki (d.1632)	久岩東奕
Kyūka (d.1578)	九華
Kyūki	舊記
Lanxi Daolong (Jpn. Rankei Dōryū; 1213-1278)	蘭渓道隆
Lengyanzhou (Jpn. *Ryōgonshu*)	楞嚴咒
Liji	禮記
Lingyinsi (Jpn. Reiinji or Rinninji)	靈隱寺
Linqi (Jpn. Rinzai)	臨濟
Linqilu (Jpn. *Rinzairoku*)	臨濟錄
Linqi Yixuan (Jpn. Rinzai Gigen; d.867)	臨濟義玄
liunian (Jpn. *rokunen*)	六念
Lü	律

Mangen Shiban (1626-1710) 卍元師蠻

Manzan Dōhaku (1636-1714) 卍山道白

Manzan oshō Tōmon ejoshū 卍山和尚洞門衣袽集

Masadokoro 政所

mata min to omoshi toki no aki dani mo koyoi no tsuki ni nerareya wasuru 又見んと思し時の秋だにも 今夜の月に寝れやわする

Meian 明菴

Meian Tōsai (d.1624 or 1644) 明庵東祭

Meihōha Gasanha gizetsu no toki kanrei Hatakeyama kata soshō no meyasu 明峰派 峨山派儀絶之時管領 畠山方訴訟目安

Meihō oshō hōgo 明峰和尚法語

Meihō Sotetsu (1277-1350) 明峰素哲

Meihō Sotetsu Zenji sōki 明峰素哲禪師喪記

Meikyoku Sokushō (1684-1767) 明極即證

Meisan 明珊

Meishitsu 明室

Meiten Keiju 命天慶受

Meiten Keiju dai Zenji rinjū Esshū Kichijōzan Eihei Zenji hōgo 命天慶受大禪輪住越州 吉祥山永平禪寺法語

meiyaku 盟約

mekake	妾
menju shihō	面授嗣法
Menzan Zuihō (1683-1769)	面山瑞方
metsuzai	滅罪
meyasu	目安
Miaofa lianhuajing (Jpn. *Myōhō rengekyō*)	妙法蓮華經
migyōsho	御教書
mikawari	身代り
mikuriya	御厨
Minamoto Michitomo (d.1227)	源通具
Minamoto Tsuneyori (975-1039)	源經頼
Miroku	彌勒
miryō kōan	未了公案
missan	密参
missanchō	密参帳
missanroku	密参録
Miyamachō	美山町
Mizuno	水野

Mōan 蒙菴

mokuba kachū 木馬火中

mokuren 木蓮

mon 文

Monjū 文殊

Monkaku (d.1615) 門鶴

Monpon jihitsu shojō 閒本自筆書状

monsan 門參

monto 門徒

monto hissan 門徒秘參

Morin Shihan (1392-1487) 茂林芝繁

Morita Goyū (1834-1915) 森田悟由

Morookadera 諸岡寺

Morooka Hiko Jinja 諸岡比古神社

Morotake Ekidō (1807-1879) 諸嶽奕堂

Motsugo jukai no sahō 没後授戒作法

Motsugo sasō no san 没后作僧參

mozhao (Jpn. *mokushō*) 默照

Mu (Ch. *Wu*)	無
Mugai Chikō (d.1351)	無涯智洪
Mugai Enshō (1311-1381)	無外圓照
Mugaku Sogen (Ch. Wuxue Zuxuan; 1226-1286)	無學祖玄
Mugoku Etetsu (1350-1430)	無極慧徹
mui	無爲
mui shinnin	無位眞人
Mujaku Dōchū (1653-1744)	無著道忠
Mujaku Myōyū (1333-1393)	無著妙融
Mujū Dōgyō (1226-1312)	無住道曉
"Mu" *kōan*	無字公案
Mukyū	無求
Mumei sasshi	無名冊子
Mumonkan (Ch. *Wumenguan*)	無門關
Mumonkanshō	無門關抄
musa	無作
Musai Junshō (d.1381)	無際純證
Musetsu	無說

mushin	無心
Musō kokushi goroku	夢窓國師語録
Musō Soseki (1275-1351)	夢窓疎石
Mutan Sokan (d.1387)	無端祖環
Mutei Ryōshō (1313-1361)	無底良韶
Mutō Esū	無等慧崇
Myōchi (Keizan's grandmother)	明智
Myōden (d.1871)	妙田
Myōe (1173-1232)	明恵
Myōgonji	妙嚴寺
Myōjō	妙浄
Myōōji	妙應寺
Myōrakuji	妙樂寺
Myōshō (Keizan's cousin)	明照
myōshu	名主
Myōtokusan Senpukujiki	妙德山泉福寺記
Myōzen (1184-1225)	明全
Myōzen gusokukaichō	明全具足戒牒

Myōzen oshō kaichō okugaki	明全和尚戒牒奥書
Nagao Kagenaka (1388-1463)	長尾景仲
Nagao Kagenobu	長尾景信
Nagao Kagetora (1530-1578)	長尾景虎
Nagao Shōken yōzōki	長尾昌賢影像記
Nagao Yoshikage (1459-1506)	長尾能景
Naikaku Bunko	内閣文庫
Nakamikado Nobutane (1442-1525)	中御門宣胤
Naka-no-hama	中濱
Namitsukidera	波着寺
Nan'ei Kenshū (1386-1459)	南英謙宗
Nanhai jigui neifachuan (Jpn. *Nankai kiki naihōden*)	南海寄歸内法傳
Nankoku rōshi sanjūshikan	南谷老師三十四關
Nanpo Shōmyō (1235-1308)	南浦紹明
Nanto Eizan kaishōretsu no koto	南都叡山戒勝劣事
Nanzenji	南禪寺
Nanzenji taiji soshō	南禪寺對治訴訟
Narita Ietoki	成田家時

Nasu, Mt.	那須
nehan	涅槃
nenbutsu	念佛
nenge	捻華
nianfoqian (Jpn. *nenbutsusen*)	念佛錢
Niansong (Jpn. *Nenju*)	念誦
Nichiiki Sōtō reiso gyōgōki	日域曹洞列祖行業記
Nichiiki Sōtō shitsunai tekiteki hitsuden mippō kirikami	日域曹洞室內嫡嫡秘傳密法切紙
Nichiren (1222-1282)	日蓮
Nidai iwaku Eihei monka san datsuraku no wa ari, kedashi kore kaisan oshō Tendō ni aru toki no gosho nari	二代曰永平門下有三脱落之話. 蓋是開山和尚在天童時悟處也
Nihon shoki	日本書記
Nihon Tōjō rentōroku	日本洞上聯燈錄
Niji Gozan	尼寺五山
Ninden genmokushō	人天眼目抄
Ninkū (1309-1382)	仁空
Ninnō Jōki (d.1364)	仁叟浄熙

ninnun	任運
Nipponkoku Echizen Eiheiji chiji shingi	日本國越前永平寺知事清規
Nippon Tōjō shiha no zu	日本洞上枝派之圖
Nishiari Kin'ei (1821-1910)	西有瑾英
nisoki	二祖忌
Nisshin Monrō (d.1671)	日辰文猊
nissō denbō	入宋傳法
Nittō guhō junrei gyōki	入唐求法巡禮行記
Nobutane kyōki	宣胤卿記
Nōgaku kyōhō	能嶽教報
Noma	野間
Nōnin	能忍
Nonoichi Mura	野野市村
Nōshū Tōkoku kaisan hōgo	能州洞谷開山法語
Nōshū Tōkokusan Yōkōji Keizan oshō goroku	能州洞谷山永光寺瑩山和尚語錄
Numata	沼田
Nyo Gen kakugaishū	如元格外集

Nyoirin Kannon	如意輪觀音
Nyojō (Ch. Rujing; 1163-1228)	如浄
Nyokin	如忻
Nyorai	如來
Nyoraiji	如來寺
nyūjō	入定
nyusshitsu	入室
Ōan Taihaku	應菴太白
Obata	小幡
Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582)	織田信長
Oda Nobunaga kingo	織田信長禁語
Ō hashi kan'ensho	大渡橋幹縁疏
Ō hashi kuyō sōki	大渡橋供養草記
okibumi	置文
Onjōji	園城寺
onkai	陰界
Ōno District	大野郡
Onryōken nichiroku	蔭凉軒日錄

Ōryū (Ch. Huonglong)	黄龍
Oshino	押野
oshō	和尚
otsubi	乙未
pianliwen (Jpn. *benreibun*)	駢儷文
puqing	普請
qinggui (Jpn. *shingi*)	清規
Qingyuan Hangsi (Jpn. Seigen Gyōshi; d.740)	青原行思
Quantanxin (Jpn. *Kandanshin*)	勸檀信
Quijingwen (Jpn. *Kikyōmon*)	龜鏡文
Rai Yōkō Kaisantō	禮永興開山塔
rakan	羅漢
Rakan kuyō shikimon	羅漢供養式文
rakkyo	落居
Ranzen Shun'yū (1613-1672)	懶禪舜融
Reiju	靈儒
Reinan Shūjo (1675-1752)	嶺南秀恕
Reishōji	靈松寺

Reiun Bonryū (d.1731)	嶺雲梵龍
renbanjō	連判狀
Renchū	練中
Rentian yanmu (Jpn. *Ninden genmoku*)	人天眼目
Ribenguo Qianguang fashi citangji (Jpn. *Nipponkoku Senkō hōshi shidōki*)	日本國千光法師祠堂記
richi	理智
rinji (a.k.a. *rinshi*)	綸旨
rinjū	輪住
rinka	林下
Rinzai (Ch. Linqi)	臨濟
Rinzai Gigen (Ch. Linqi Yixuan; d.867)	臨濟義玄
Rinzairoku (Ch. *Linqilu*)	臨濟錄
rishōtō	利生塔
Rissenji	立川寺
risshi	律師
rissō nyusshitsu	立僧入室
rissō shuso	立僧首座

rōbashin 老婆心

Rogaku Tōto (d.1470) 盧嶽等都

rōhachi 臘八

Rokuharamitsuji 六波羅蜜寺

Roku Jizōji 六地藏寺

Rokuso dankyō 六祖檀經

Ruijū zatsurei 類聚雑例

Rujing (Jpn. Nyojō; 1163-1228) 如淨

Rujinglu (Jpn. *Nyojōroku*) 如淨

rushi (Jpn. *nyusshitsu*) 入室

ruyao (Jpn. *nyūyaku*) 乳藥

ryaku kaigi 略戒儀

ryō 兩

Ryōan Emyō (1337-1411) 了菴慧明

Ryōdō Shinkaku (1330-1399) 了堂真覺

Ryōgonshu (Ch. *Lengyanzhou*) 楞嚴咒

ryōkan 兩閑

Ryōkan 了鑑

ryōke	領家
Ryōke bō kishinjō	領家某寄進狀
Ryōke Sakurai bō kishinjō	領家櫻井某寄進狀
Ryōko	りやうこ
Ryokugan Gonryū (d.1716)	綠巖巖柳
Ryōnen	了然
Ryōnen Eichō (1471-1551)	了然永超
Ryōshitsu	了室
Ryōshō yumeki	良昭夢記
Ryōzen'in	靈山院
Ryūenji	龍淵寺
Ryūen nisei Kiun -Kyoku oshō goroku	龍淵二世旗雲旭和尚語錄
Ryūen sansei Itsū oshō goroku	龍淵三世惟通和尚語錄
Ryūen Seijun Kiun Itsū goroku narabi ni gyōjō	龍淵清順旗雲惟通語錄並行狀
Ryūkain	龍花院
Ryūkeiji	龍溪寺
Ryūkoku Donshō	隆谷呑紹
Ryūonji	龍穩寺

Ryūsenji	龍泉寺
Ryūsui Nyotoku	龍水如得
Ryūtaiji	龍泰寺
Ryūtakuji	龍澤寺
Ryūtakuji hatto	龍澤寺法度
Ryūtakuji Monpon okibumi	龍澤寺聞本置文
Ryūtakuji saiken kangechōsha	龍澤寺再建勸化帳寫
ryūten	龍天
Ryūten jukai kirikami	龍天授戒切紙
Ryūten kankin	龍天看經
Ryūunji	龍雲寺
Sadafusa (1372-1456)	貞成
sadame	定
sadamegaki	定書
Saemonjō Taira bō kishinjō	左衛門尉平某寄進狀
Saichō (767-822)	最澄
saidō	西堂
saidōi	西堂位

saigin	再吟
Saijōji	最乘寺
Saijū	齊柔
saimon	祭文
Saishōkōin	最勝光院
saitan	歲旦
Sakai	堺
Sakai Norikane	酒井章兼
Sakai Noritsune	酒井章長
Sakai Toshitada	酒井利忠
Sakō Yorichika	酒勾頼親
Sakō Yorimoto	酒勾頼基
Sakyū	祚球
san	參
san (to praise) as mistake for *san* (to study)	贊・參
sandai sōron	三代相論
sangaku	三學
sankan	三關

Sankoku shōden bosatsukai kechimyaku	三國正傳菩薩戒血脈
sankon	三根
Sankon zazensetsu	三根坐禪說
sanmi	三位
sanmi no kirikami	三位之切紙
Sanmoku issōji	三木一草事
sanmon	山門
sanro	三路
Sansen	山川
Sanshū Hakuryū (1669-1760)	三洲白龍
Sanshū Taki Hōsenji kyūki	參州瀧法泉寺舊記
San'un kaigetsu	山雲海月
sanwa	參話
sanzen	參禪
Sanzen gakudō myōjutsu	參禪學道妙術
sarijō	去狀
Sasō gishiki: Motsugo jukai sahō	作僧儀式，没後授戒作法
satori	悟

satsu	拶
segaki	施餓鬼
seidō	聖堂
Seigenzan Yōtakuji gyōji no shidai	青原山永澤寺行事之次第
Seihō	青峰
Seizen Dōseki (1434-1518)	盛禪洞奭
sekensō jōjū	世間相常住
Sekichū Eisan (d.1487)	石宙永珊
Sekidōzan	石動山
Sekioku Shinryō (1345-1423)	石屋眞梁
Sekioku Zenji tōmei	石屋禪師塔銘
Sekitō Kisen (Ch. Shitou Xiqian; 700-790)	石頭希遷
Sekkō Tokuchū (1475-1570)	節香德忠
senju	專修
Senkeiji	泉溪寺
Senkōji	千光寺
Senne	詮慧

Senpuku gentō rokushō	泉福源燈錄抄
Senpukuji	泉福寺
Senpukuji Yōshitsu	泉福寺影室
senshi	先師
Senshin	專信
Sensō Esai (1409-1475)	川僧慧濟
Sensō Zenji goroku	川僧禪師語
Senten	先天
seppa	說破
Sesonji	世尊寺
sesshōseki	殺生石
Shaka	釋迦
Shakuen	釋圓
Shakuun	釋運
shami	沙彌
Shami Chien nado kishinjō	沙彌知圓等寄進狀
shamini	沙彌尼
Shami shoujiewen (Jpn. *Shami jukaimon*)	沙彌受戒文

Shanfang yehua (Jpn. *Sanbō yawa*)	山房夜話
shari	舍利
Shari sōdenki	舍利相傳記
Shasekishū	沙石集
shasui	灑水
shenxin dutuo (Jpn. *shinjin dokudatsu*)	身心獨脱
shi	師
Shibata Katsuie (1522-1583)	柴田勝家
Shibata Katsuie gechijō	柴田勝家下知狀
Shibunritsu (Ch. *Sifenlü*)	四分律
shichibutsu tsūkaige	七佛通戒偈
Shichidōsan	七堂參
shichiseki	七夕
Shidō Shōyū (d.1301)	斯道紹由
Shigeno Nobunao	滋野信直
Shigetsu Ein (1689-1764)	指月慧印
Shihi	志比
shihinju	四賓主

shihō	嗣法
Shiji	史記
Shijing	詩經
shikan taza	只管打坐
shikishamana	式叉摩那
Shikishō	史記抄
Shikō Sōden (d.1500)	芝岡宗田
Shimazu Atsutada	島津敦忠
Shimofusa Sōneijiki	下總 總寧寺記
shin	信
shinchi	心智
Shinchi Kakushin (1207-1298)	心地覺心
Shingaku gyōyōshō	新學行要鈔
Shingan Dōkū (1374-1449)	真巖道空
shingi (Ch. *qinggui*)	清規
Shingon	真言
Shingon *ajari*	真言阿闍梨
Shingonshū kyōjigi	真言宗教時義

Shingyō	心經
shinji	真字
shinjin datsuraku	身心脱落
shinjin kado	神人化度
Shinkō Shōzoku Zenji	真興正續禪師
Shinkū	真空
shinmeisha	神明社
shinnyo hosshō no kaihō	真如法性之戒法
shinri	真理
Shinsan jisan narabi ni geju	真贊自贊并偈頌
Shin Zenkōji	新善光寺
Shinzō estate	神藏莊
Shiroi	白井
Shiryō	至遼
shisetsu raigi	四節禮儀
shishaku	四借
Shishihō	事師法
Shishi yaolan (Jpn. *Shakushi yōran*)	釋氏要覧

shisho	嗣書
shishō Gasan *oshō*	師匠峨山和尚
Shitou Xiqian (Jpn. Sekitō Kisen; 700-790)	石頭希遷
Shitsuchū kirikami--zen	室中切紙・全
Shiyun	しゆん
Shizi	獅子
shō/jō (transmission syllable)	紹
shoaku makusa shozen bugyō	諸惡莫作・諸善奉行
Shōan	照菴
Shōben	勝弁
shōbō	正法
shōbō genzō	正法眼藏
Shōbō genzō (Chapter Titles):	正法眼藏
1-Genjō kōan	現成公按
2-Maka hannya haramitsu	摩訶般若波羅蜜
3-Busshō	佛性
4-Shinjin gakudō	身心學道
5-Sokushin ze Butsu	即身是佛

6-Gyōbutsu īgi	行佛威儀
7-Ikka myōju	一顆明珠
8-Shin fukatoku	心不可得
9-Ko Busshin	古佛心
10-Daigo	大悟
11-Zazengi	坐禪儀
12-Zazenshin	坐禪箴
13-Kaiin zanmai	海印三昧
14-Kūge	空華
15-Kōmyō	光明
16-Gyōji	行持
17-Inmo	恁麼
18-Kannon	觀音
19-Kokyō	古鏡
20-Uji	有時
21-Juki	授記
22-Zenki	全機
23-Tsuki	都機

24-Kabyō	畫餅
25-Keisei sanshō	谿聲山色
26-Bukkōjōji	佛向上事
27-Muchū setsumu	夢中説夢
28-Raihai tokuzui	禮拜得髓
29-Sansuikyō	山水經
30-Kankin	看經
31-Shoaku makusa	諸惡莫作
32-Den'e	傳衣
33-Dōtoku	道得
34-Bukkyō (Buddhist Teachings)	佛教
35-Jinzū	神通
36-Arakan	阿羅漢
37-Shunjū	春秋
38-Kattō	葛藤
39-Shisho	嗣書
40-Hakujushi	栢樹子
41-Sankai yuishin	三界唯心

42-Sesshin sesshō 說心說性

43-Shohō jissō 諸法實相

44-Butsudō 佛道

45-Mitsugo 密語

46-Mujō seppō 無情說法

47-Bukkyō (Buddhist Scriptures) 佛經

48-Hōshō 法性

49-Darani 陀羅尼

50-Senmen 洗面

51-Menju 面授

52-Busso 佛祖

53-Baika 梅華

54-Senjō 洗浄

55-Jippō 十方

56-Kenbutsu 見佛

57-Henzan 遍參

58-Ganzei 眼睛

59-Kajō 家常

60-Sanjūshichi bodai bunpō	三十七品菩提分法
61-Ryūgin	龍吟
62-Soshi seiraii	祖師西來意
63-Hotsu mujōshin	發無上心
64-Udonge	優曇華
65-Nyorai zenshin	如來全身
66-Zanmaiō zanmai	三昧王三昧
67-Tenhōrin	轉法輪
68-Dai shugyō	大修行
69-Jishō zanmai	自證三昧
70-Kokū	虛空
71-Hatsuu	鉢盂
72-Ango	安居
73-Tashintsū	他心通
74-Ōsaku sendaba	王索仙陀婆
75-Shukke	出家
1-Shukke kudoku	出家功德
2-Jukai	受戒

3-Kesa kudoku	袈裟功徳
4-Hotsu bodaishin	發菩提心
5-Kuyō shobutsu	供養諸佛
6-Kie sanpō	歸依三寶
7-Jinshin inga	深信因果
8-Sanjigō	三時業
9-Shime	四馬
10-Shizen biku	四禪比丘
11-Ippyakuhachi hōmyōmon	一百八法明門
12-Hachi dainingaku	八大人覺
12-Hokke ten Hokke	法華轉法華
28-Bodaisatta shishōbō	菩提薩埵四攝法
38-Yui Butsu yo Butsu	唯佛與佛
Shōji	生死
Shinzo, a.k.a. Baika shisho, Baika, Den'e, Shisho, Shinsho	陞座、梅花嗣書、梅花、傳衣、嗣書、信書
Shōbō genzō benchū	正法眼藏辯註
Shōbō genzō bonmokuju narabi jo	正法眼藏品目頌并序
Shōbō genzō bonmoku jussan	正法眼藏品目述贊

Shōbō genzō byakujaketsu	正法眼藏闢邪訣
Shōbō genzōgo	正法眼藏語
Shōbō genzō gokikigaki	正法眼藏御聞書
Shōbō genzō senpyō	正法眼藏僣評
Shōbō genzōshō	正法眼藏抄
Shōbō genzō zatsubun	正法眼藏雜文
Shōbō genzō zuimonki	正法眼藏隨聞記
Shōbōji	正法寺
Shōbōji Shōbō genzō no yūrai	正法寺正法眼藏ノ由來
Shōbō shingi	正法清規
Shōbō tekiden shishi ikkushū	正法嫡傳獅子一吼集
Shōchū Shōtan (d.1492)	正中祥端
Shōden	聖天
Shōdō Kōsei (1431-1505)	松堂高盛
Sho ekō shingishiki	諸回向清規式
shōen	莊園
Shōenji	祥園寺
Shōfukuji	聖福寺

Shōgaku	正學
Shōgan	松岸
Shōgei (1341-1420)	聖冏
Shōgen Sōju (d.1609)	松嚴宗壽
shogo kōten	初後更點
shōgun	将軍
Shōhō	招寶
shohō jissō	諸法實相
Shōichi kokushi goroku	聖一國師語錄
shokan	初關
shoki	書記
shōmono	抄物
shōmotsu	抄物
Shōrin	少林
Shōryūji	正龍寺
shōsan	小參
Shōsan Chihō	簫山智鳳
Shōshichō	小師帳

Shōshin	證眞
Shoshū chokugōki	諸宗勅號記
Shōshusō	請主裘
Shōtōshiki	抄劄式
Shoujie (Jpn. *Jukai*)	受戒
Shōwa	正和
Shōyū	紹由
Shōzen	性禪
shū (Ch. *zong*)	宗
Shugan	珠岩
Shujing	書經
Shukke daikō	出家大綱
Shukke ryakusahō	出家略作法
Shūkō (fl.1445)	秀香
Shūkō oshō yuzurijō	秀香和尚讓狀
shukuha fugin	粥罷諷經
Shukuroji	宿蘆寺
Shukuyōgyō (Ch. *Xiuyaojing*)	宿要經

Shūmo	秀茂
shūmon	宗門
Shūmon no ichi daiji innen	宗門之一大事因緣
Shundō Sengyoku (d.1859)	春堂僊玉
Shun'oku Myōha (1311-1388)	春屋妙葩
Shunpo Sōki (1416-1496)	春浦宗熙
Shūon'an	酬恩庵
shuro hossu	椶櫚拂子
shuryō	衆寮
Shūryōgongyō (Ch. *Shoulengyanjing*)	首楞嚴經
Shuryō shingi	衆寮箴規
shūsei	宗制
shuso	首座
shūso Dōgen no kakun to senshi Keizan no sokai	宗祖道元ノ家訓ト先師瑩山ノ素懷
Shūtō fukkoshi	宗統復古志
Sifenlü (Jpn. *Shibunritsu*)	四分律
Sima Qian	司馬遷
sishenghao (Jpn. *shishōgō*)	四聖號

sōan	送行
Soboku	祖朴
Sodemori	外守
sōdō	僧堂
Sōei	宗英
soejō	添状
Sōen	宗縁
Sōgenji	曹源寺
Sōgo (Eiheiji abbot)	宗吾
Sōgo (name in funeral sermon)	宗悟
Soichi	祖一
Sōjiji (Mikawa Province)	總持寺
Sōjiji (originally Noto Province)	總持寺
Sōjiji chūkō engi	總持寺中興縁起
Sōjiji hattō zōritsu chūmon	總持寺法堂造立注文
Sōjiji jinmiraisai jōjō okibumi no koto	總持寺盡未來際條々置文事
Sōjiji jōjū monjo shin mokuroku	總持寺常住文書新目錄
Sōjiji jōjū monjo mokuroku	總持寺常住文書目錄

Sōjiji kyūki	總持寺舊記
Sōjiji monto keiyakujō	總持寺門徒契約狀
Sōjiji nidai oshō shōtō	總持寺二代和尚抄劄
Sōjiji sho hatto	總持寺諸法度
Sōji Zenji jūsan no shidai	總持禪寺住山之次第
Soju	祖受
Sōka	宗可
Sōkai	僧海
Soki	祖機
Sōkō	宗興
sōkō shinsai	寵公真宰
sō kumon	惣公文
soku (principle) misprinted as *soku* (leg)	則・足
Soku Nihongi	續日本記
Sokyū (1532-1610)	祚玖
Somyō	素妙
Sōneiji	總寧寺
Sonin	祖忍

Sonpi bunmyaku	尊卑分脈
Sōrinji rentōroku	雙林寺聯燈錄
Sōrin sansei Rinsen kaisan gyōjōki	雙林三世林泉開山行狀記
sōroku	僧錄
sōron	相論
Sosan	祖珊
Soshi	祖之
Soshiki kaisei jōrei	祖師忌改正條例
Sōshinji	崇信寺
Sōshi Shōtai (1414-1496)	崇芝性岱
Sōshō	僧生
Sotetsu hōe sōden hōgo	素哲法衣相傳法語
Sotetsu okibumi	素哲置文
Sōtō (Ch. Caodong)	曹洞
Sōtōke Tendō Nyojō Zenji Dōgen oshō shihōron	曹洞家天童如淨禪師道元和尚嗣法論
Sōtō kyōkai jōrei	曹洞教會條例
Sōtōshū	曹洞宗

Sōtōshū hōmyaku kefu	曹洞宗法脈系譜
Sōtōshū kakushin dōmeikai	曹洞宗革新同盟會
Sugyōroku (Ch. *Zongjinglu*)	宗鏡錄
Sukō (1334-1396)	崇光
Suzu	珠洲
Suzuki Shōsan (1579-1655)	鈴木正三
Taichō (682-767)	泰澄
Taigen Sōshin (d. ca.1371)	太源宗真
Taigen Sūfu (1496-1555)	太原崇孚
taigo	待悟
taigo isoku	待悟爲則
taikyoku	太極
Taikyoku (1421-ca.1472-)	太極
Taikyūji	退休寺
Taikyūji yuraiki	退休寺由來記
Taira no uji no onna bō kishinjō	平氏女某寄進狀
Taitaikohō	對大己法
Taiyō Bonsei (d.1427)	太容梵清

Taiyō kaisan Tanrei Zenji kinenroku	太陽開山丹嶺禪師紀年錄
Taiyō oshō goroku	太容和尚語錄
Taizō shiso Tenkei oshō nenpu	退藏始祖天桂和尚年譜
Takeda Nobumasa	武田信昌
Takeda Nobutora (1494-1574)	武田信虎
Takeda Shingen (1521-1573)	武田信玄
Takeda Shingen hanmotsusha	武田信玄判物寫
Takiya Takushū (1836-1897)	瀧谷琢宗
Takuan Sōhō (1573-1645)	澤庵宗彭
tamashii	魂
tamashi ire	魂入
tamon	他門
Tamonten	多聞天
tango	端午
Tanrei Sochū (1624-1710)	丹嶺祖衷
tassu	塔主
tatchū	塔頭
Teiho Kenzeiki	訂補建撕記

Teiho Kenzeiki zue	訂補建撕記圖會
Teishōji kaisan rekidai ryakuden	貞祥寺開山歷代略傳
Tekiden	的傳
Ten'an	天菴
Tendai	天台
Tendai Shingon nishū dōishō	天台真言二宗同異章
tendō	天堂
tengen	點眼
Tengin yuikai	天誾遺誡
Tenkai Kūkō (1348-1416)	天海空廣
Tenkei Denson (1648-1735)	天桂傳尊
Tenkei (Yōkōji abbot)	天桂
Tennō Soin (d.1467)	天叟祖寅
Tenrinji	天林寺
Tenryūji	天龍寺
Tenshin Jishō (d.1413)	天真自性
Tenshin Yūteki (1341-1413)	天真融適
tenzo	典座

Tenzo kyōkun	典座教訓
Tesshin Gyōshū (d.1664)	鐵心御州
Tetsudō	徹堂
Tetsudō Zentsū	徹堂禪通
Tetsuzan Shian (1246-1336)	鐵山士安
Tettsū Gikai Zenji sōki	徹通義介禪師喪記
Tianmu Zhongfeng heshang guanglu (Jpn. *Tenmoku Chūhō oshō kōroku*)	天目中峰和尚廣錄
Tiantong (Jpn. Tendō)	天童
Toda Tadamasa	戸田忠真
tōdō	東堂
tōdōi	東堂位
Tōfukuji	東福寺
Togashi Iehisa (d.1329)	富樫家向
Tōgen kakun	洞源家訓
Tōgen Zuisen (1430-1489)	桃源瑞仙
Tōgyoku	東玉
tōji	冬至

Tōji kaisan jikkajō no kikyō	當寺門山十箇條之龜鏡
Tōjō shinhō	洞上眞報
Tōjō shitsunai danshi kenpi shiki	洞上室内斷紙揀非私記
Tōjuin	洞壽院
tōki	投機
Tōkoku dentōin gorō gosoku narabi ni gyōgō ryakugi	洞谷傳燈院五老五則并行業略記
Tōkoku goso gyōjitsu	洞谷五祖行實
Tōkoku jinmiraisai honji to nasubeki no okibumi	洞谷盡未來際可爲本寺之置文
Tōkoku kaisan Keizan oshō no hōgo	洞谷開山瑩山和尚之法語
Tōkoku kaisan oshō jijaku saimon	洞谷開山和尚示寂祭文
Tōkokuki	洞谷記
Tōkokusan jinmiraisai okibumi	洞谷山盡未來際置文
Tōkoku shingi	洞谷清規
Tokudo sahō	得道作法
Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616)	德川家康
Tokugawa Ieyasu hatto	德川家康法度
Tokuō Hōryū (d.1563)	德翁芳隆

Tokuō Ryōkō (1649-1709)	徳翁良光
Tokuunji	徳雲寺
Tominaga Shūho	富永周甫
Tōnomine	金峰
tō'nyū	透入
Tōri	等理
torii	鳥居
Tōshōji	洞松寺
Touzi Yiqing chanshi yulu (Jpn. *Tōsu Gisei Zenji goroku*)	投子義青禪師語錄
Tōzan hatto no shidai	當山法度之次第
Tōzan jōjō jinmiraisai gongyō to nasubeki koto	當山條々盡未來際可勤行事
tsū	通
Tsūgen Jakurei (1322-1391)	通幻寂靈
Tsūgen Jakurei Zenji sōki	通幻寂靈禪師喪記
Tsūgen oshō gyōjitsu	通幻和尚行實
Tsūgen oshō ryaku nenfu	通幻和尚略年譜
Tsūgen oshō tan'enshi	通幻和尚誕緣志

Tsūgen oshō yuikai kibun	通幻和尚遺誡記文
Tsūhō Meidō (d.1395)	通方明道
tsuizen	追善
Tsūkai Ryūsen	通海龍泉
tsūsu	都寺
Tuigeng Dening (Jpn. Taikō Tokunei)	退耕徳寧
ubai	優婆夷
ubasoku	優婆塞
uchi (simplified form of *hanaru*)	内 ・ 離 （离）
Uesugi Fusaaki (1432-1466)	上杉房顕
Uesugi Kenshin (1530-1578)	上杉謙信
Uesugi Norimoto (1383-1418)	上杉憲基
Uesugi Norisada	上杉憲定
Uesugi Noritada (1433-1454)	上杉憲忠
Uesugi Norizane (1411-1466)	上杉憲實
ujidera	氏寺
Uji Kannon Dōriin sōdō kanjisho	宇治観音導利院僧堂勧進疏
Ungai Shōton (1633-1695)	雲外性澂

Ungaku Tōgen (d.1491)	雲嶽洞源
Unjuji	雲樹寺
Unkan Shusō	雲關珠宗
Unshō Ikkei (1386-1463)	雲章一慶
urō	有漏
ushiromi	後見
wa (Ch. *hua*)	話
Waan Seijun (fl.1411)	和菴清順
Waan Seijun Zenji gyōjō	和菴清順行狀
Wangseng (Jpn. *Bōsō*)	亡僧
Wansong Hangxiu (Jpn. Manshō Gyōshū; 1196-1246)	萬松行秀
watashijō	渡狀
watō (Ch. *huatou*)	話頭
weinuo (Jpn. *ino*)	維那
Wuchangjing (Jpn. *Mujōkyō*)	無常經
Wuji Liaopai (Jpn. Musai Ryōha; 1149-1224)	無際了派
Wumenguan (Jpn. *Mumonkan*)	無門關

wushan (Jpn. *gozan*) 五山

Wuwai Yiyuan (Jpn. Mugai Gion; d.1266) 無外義遠

Wuxue Zuxuan (Jpn. Mugaku Sogen; 1226-1286) 無學祖玄

Wuzu Fayan (Jpn. Goso Hōen; d.1104) 五祖法演

xiancheng gong'an (Jpn. *genjō kōan*) 現成公案

Xiao foshi (Jpn. *Shō butsuji*) 小佛事

Xiaoren (Jpn. Shukunen) 脩然

Xiatang Huiyuan (Jpn. Katsudō Eon; 1103-1176) 瞎堂慧遠

xinchen (Jpn. *shinjin*) 心塵

xinchen tuoluo (Jpn. *shinjin datsuraku*) 心塵脫落

Xingzhuang (Jpn. *Gyōjō*) 行狀

Xiuchan yaojue (Jpn. *Shuzen yōketsu*) 修禪要決

Xuedou Mingjue Chanshi yulu (Jpn. *Setchō Myōgaku Zenji goroku*) 雪竇明覺禪師語錄

Xuedou Zhongxian (Jpn. Setchō Jūken; 980-1052) 雪竇重顯

Xuefeng Yicun (Jpn. Seppō Gison; 822-908) 雪峰義存

Xu guzunsu yuyao (Jpn. *Zoku kosonshuku goyō*) 續古尊宿語要

Xutang Zhiyu (Jpn. Kidō Chigu; 1185-1269) 虛堂智愚

Yakushi 藥師

Yakushi no riyaku no koto 藥師ノ利益事

Yakushitsu 藥室

yamabushi 山伏

Yamana Ujikiyo (1344-1391) 山名氏清

Yamanouchi 山内

Yamashibu 山師峰

Yang 陽

Yanqi Guangwen (Jpn. Enkei Kōmon; 1189-1263) 偃溪廣聞

Yaoshan Weiyan (Jpn. Yakusan Igen; 745-828) 藥山惟儼

yasan 夜參

yasan hajime 夜參始

Yigong (Jpn. Gikū) 義空

Yijing (Jpn. Gijō; 635-713) 義淨

Yin 陰

Yishan Yining (Jpn. Issan Ichinei; 1247-1317)	一山一寧
Yōjō	葉上
Yōjuji	養壽寺
Yōkō	要綱
Yōkōan	永興庵
Yōkōji (Kyoto)	永興寺
Yōkōji (Noto)	永光寺
Yōkōji kiden chūmon	永光寺寄田注文
Yōkōji kirikami	永光寺切紙
Yōkōjiryō mokuroku	永光寺領目錄
Yōkōjiryō Wakabeho shūrida sadamegakian	永光寺領若部保修理田定書案
Yokose Kunishige	横瀬國繁
Yokose Narishige (1506-1578)	横瀬成繁
Yokose Yasushige	横瀬泰繁
yomon	除門
Yoshihito (1361-1416)	榮仁
Yōshitsu	影室

Yōshitsu zatsuki	影室雜記
Yōtakuji	永澤寺
Yōtakuji Tsūgen Zenji gyōgō	永澤寺通幻禪師行業
Yōtaku Tsūgen Zenji goroku	永澤通幻禪師語錄
Yuanwu Foguo Chanshi yulu (Jpn. *Engo Bukka Zenji goroku*).	圜悟佛果禪師語錄
Yuanwu Keqin (Jpn. Engo Gokugon; 1063-1135)	圜悟克勤
Yūhō Tōeki	友峰等益
Yuikyōgyō	遺教經
Yūki battles (1440)	結城合戰
Yunju Daoying (Jpn. Unko Dōyō; d.902)	雲居道膺
Yunmen Kuangzhen Chanshi guanglu (Jpn. *Unmon Kyōshin Zenji kōroku*)	雲門匡真禪師廣錄
Yunmen Wenyan (Jpn. Unmon Bun'en, 864-949)	雲門文偃
Yura Narishige (1506-1578)	由良成繁
Yushu (Jpn. Gucho)	虞樗
yuzuriyō	讓狀
Zaishitsu Chōtan	在室長端

zanmai	三昧
zazen	坐禪
zazengi	坐禪儀
Zazen yōjinki	坐禪用心記
zazen zoku butsugo nari	坐禪即佛悟也
ze (Jpn. *soku*)	則
zen	禪
Zen (Ch. Chan)	禪
zen Eihei	前永平
Zengan Tōjun (d.1495)	全巖東純
zengyō	禪行
zenji	禪師
Zenjihō	禪師峰
zenjōriki	禪定力
zenjū	前住
zenkai	禪戒
Zenkaiki	禪戒儀
Zenke	禪家

Zenkyūin	全久院
Zenmon	禪門
Zenmon bosatsukaiki	禪門菩薩戒儀
Zenmon ju bosatsukaiki	禪門授菩薩戒儀
Zenni	禪尼
Zenrin gashōshū	禪林雅頌集
Zenrinji	禪林寺
Zenrin ruijū (Ch. *Chanlin leiju*)	禪林類聚
Zenrin shōkisen	禪林像器箋
zenryo	禪侶
zenshitsu	禪室
Zenshō	禪松
zenshu	禪衆
Zenshū revolt (1416)	禪秀ノ亂
zensō	禪僧
Zeppō	絶峰
Zhanglu Zongze (Jpn. Chōro Sōsaku)	長蘆宗賾

Zhanran (Jpn. Tannen; 711-782)	湛然
Zhaobaosi (Jpn. Shōhōji)	紹寶寺
zhao (Jpn. *terasu; utsuru,* or *utsusu*)	照
Zhaozhou Congshen (Jpn. Jōshū Jūshin)	趙州從諗
Zhiguan fuxing chuanhongjue (Jpn. *Shikan bugyō denguketsu*)	止觀輔行傳弘決
Zhiyi (Jpn. Chigi; 538-597)	智顗
Zhongfeng Mingben (Jpn. Chūhō Myōhon; 1263-1323)	中峰明本
Zhongmen tongyaoji (Jpn. *Shūmon tōyōshū*)	宗門統要集
Zichun (Jpn. Shijun; 1064-1117)	子淳
Zijue (Jpn. Jikaku; d.1117)	自覺
Zōdanshū	雜談集
Zōkeian	藏荊庵
Zoku Nichiiki Tōjō sho soden	續日域洞上諸祖傳
zong (Jpn. *shū*)	宗
Zongronglu (Jpn. *Shōyōroku*)	從容錄
Zongze (Jpn. Sōsaku)	宗賾
Zōsan Ryōki (d.1729)	藏山良機

Zuichō	瑞長
Zuigan Shōrin (1343-c.1424-)	瑞巖韶麟
Zuigan Zenji goroku	瑞巖禪師語錄
Zuikō Chingyū	瑞岡珍牛
Zuimonki	隨聞記
Zuiō	瑞應
zuise	瑞世
Zuiseki	瑞石
Zuisekiji	瑞石寺
Zuisenji	瑞泉寺
Zuisenjibon Denkōroku	瑞泉寺本傳光錄
Zuiun'in	瑞雲院
Zuiun'in engiki	瑞雲院緣起記
zunnan	童行
Zunsu qianhua (Jpn. *Sonshuku senge*)	尊宿遷化
Zunsu ruyuan (Jpn. *Sonshuku nyūin*)	尊宿入院

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